



Printed, for A. Millar,

P. Fourdrinier

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF

Alexander the Great,

TRANSLATED FROM

QUINTUS CURTIUS;

Together with

FREINSHEMIUS's Supplement;

By JOHN DIGBY, Esq;

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The THIRD EDITION.

Corrected and Revised by the Reverend

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T O

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS,

WILLIAM,

Duke of CUMBERLAND,

[This Translation of

Quintus Curtius's History

O F T H E

WARS OF *Alexander.*

Is humbly Inscribed,

By HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Most obedient and devoted

Humble Servant,

ANDREW MILLAR.



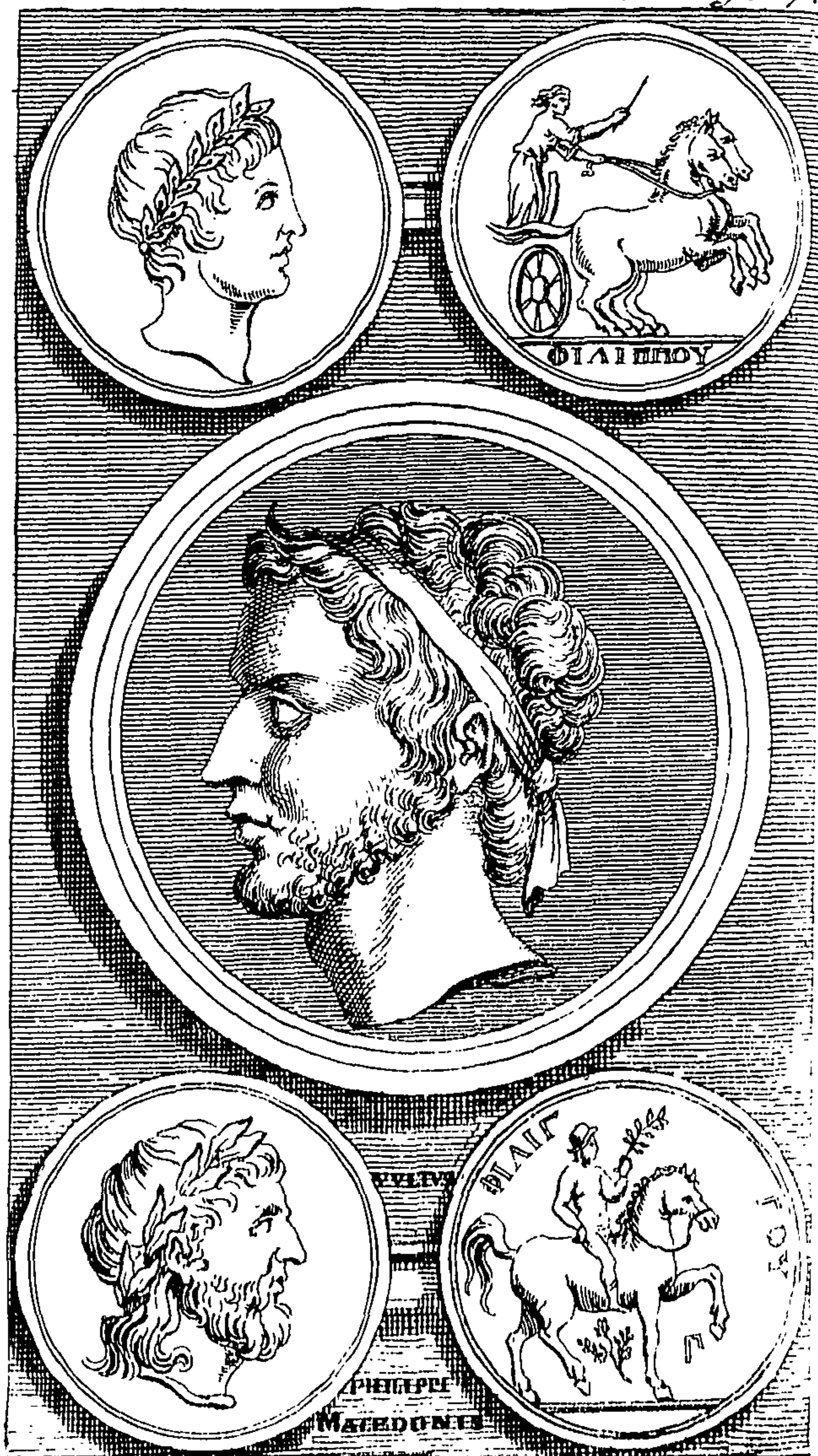
Before the Life of Alexander.



THE
SUPPLEMENT
OF
JOHN FREINSHEMIUS,
TO
QUINTUS CURTIUS'S
HISTORY of the Life and Actions of
ALEXANDER the GREAT.

CHAP. I.

THE life and actions of Alexander, who wrested the empire from the Persians, and transferr'd it to Greece, have been written by many Greek historians ; whereof most were spectators, and some companions and ministers of his atchievements : and others, he himself, out of a strong passion that his fame shou'd survive after his decease, appointed to transmit an account of his exploits to posterity. But besides, that the real facts
A were



my countrymen an idea of that king, who in the course of his short life conquer'd more countries than any other prince ever aspired to. From whence we may conclude, that human affairs are not guided by chance or hazard, but that commonly fortune conforms herself to the conduct of men, and that no felicity can be lasting, which is destitute of virtue. I find then that Alexander was plentifully endow'd and furnish'd with all the advantages of fortune and a great genius, that could be desir'd in a prince, who was destin'd one day to arrive at such an extraordinary height of power and greatness. The kings of Macedon deriv'd their pedigree from Hercules; and Olympias, Alexander's mother, reckon'd the origin of her family from Achilles. From his very infancy he wanted neither allurements nor examples to excite him in the pursuit of glory, nor masters to teach him virtue, nor exercise to accustom him to it. For his father, Philip, did by his continual wars raise the reputation of the Macedonians, who, 'till then were accounted despicable, and by his conquest of Greece, made them formidable every where. In fine, he not only laid the foundations of the great things which were done after his death, but even a little before his decease, having resolv'd to carry the war into Persia, he had levied men, gathered provisions, raised money, and, in short, had an army ready for that expedition; and had actually open'd a passage into Asia, by the means of Parmenio. But in this very juncture he was taken away, as if it had been on purpose to leave to his son so great forces to carry on the war, and reap the full glory of it, when it was finish'd; which seems to have been the contrivance of fortune, who always yielded entire obedience to Alexander alone. This prince was so much in the admiration of all men, not only after he had done so great things, but even at his first setting out, that it was a question whether it

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were not more reasonable to ascribe the divine original of so great a man immediately to Jupiter himself, rather than mediate to the same god by the *Æacidae* and *Hercules*. When he went himself to visit the temple of *Ammon* in *Libya*, no less would content him than to be call'd his son, as we shall shew in the sequel. Moreover it was the opinion of many, Alexander was the off-spring of a serpent which had been seen in his mother's bed-chamber, and into which Jupiter had transform'd himself: that the credit of his divine pedigree was advanced by dreams and prophecies; and that when Philip sent to *Delphi* to consult about it, he was admonish'd by the oracle, to pay the greatest reverence to *Ammon*." On the other hand, there are those who affirm, " That all this is mere fiction; and that there was reason to suspect Alexander's mother was guilty of adultery: for that *Nectanebus*, king of *Ægypt*, who was driven from his kingdom, did not go to *Ethiopia*, as was commonly believ'd, but went to *Macedonia*, in hopes of receiving succours from Philip against the power of the *Persians*. That he deceiv'd *Olympias* by the force of magical enchantments, and defil'd his landlord's bed. That from that time Philip had a jealousy of her, and that it afterwards appear'd this was the chief cause of their divorce. That the very day that Philip brought *Cleopatra* into his house, *Attalus*, his wife's uncle, took the liberty to reproach Alexander with the baseness of his birth, while the king himself disown'd him for his son. In fine, that the constant rumour of *Olympias's* adultery was entertain'd not only in that part of the world, but even among the nations which he conquer'd. That the fiction of the serpent was derived from ancient fables, on purpose to conceal the ignominy of that princess.

" That

“ That the Messenians had formerly given out the
“ same story concerning Aristomenes, and the Sicy-
“ onians concerning Aristodamas.” In reality the
same report was spread abroad among our ancestors
concerning Scipio, who was the first that ruin’d Car-
thage ; and the birth of Augustus was in like manner
thought to have had something divine in it. For as
to Romulus, the founder of Rome, there is no occa-
sion to say any thing of him ; since there is no nation
so contemptible, but derives its origin either from some
god, or the off-spring of a god. After all, the flight
of Nectanebus does not agree with those times ; for
Alexander was six years of age, when that prince was
vanquish’d by Ochus, and lost his kingdom and inhe-
ritance ; but for all this, the tale which is reported
of Jupiter, is not the less likely to be false. It is
affirm’d, that Olympias herself, having nothing to
fear after her husband’s death, laugh’d at the vanity
of her son, who would needs have it believ’d that he
was sprung from Jupiter ; and begg’d him in a letter,
“ not to expose her to Juno’s indignation, seeing she
“ had been guilty of nothing that deserv’d that punish-
“ ment.” However, before that time, she is thought
to have been the person that took the most pains
to gain credit to this fable, and is said to have admo-
nish’d Alexander upon his expedition into Asia, “ To be
“ mindful of his original, and do nothing that was
“ unworthy of so great a father.

But it is generally agreed, that between the con-
ception and birth of that prince, it was signified both
by prodigies and divers presages, how considerable a
person should be born. Philip saw in his sleep the
womb of Olympias sealed up with a ring, on which
the picture of a lion was engrav’d ; the memory
whereof was preserv’d by the city of Alexandria in
Egypt, which was for a long time called Leontopolis.
Aristander, the ablest diviner of that time, who after-

wards accompanied Alexander, and was his chief priest, interpreted that dream, and said it signify'd the magnanimity and courage of the infant. The same night that Olympias was brought to bed, the temple of Diana in Ephesus, the most famous of all Asia, was burnt to ashes. This was done by a profligate villain, who being apprehended and put to the torture, confess'd he had no other view in doing it, but to preserve his memory by some great and memorable act of impiety. Wherefore the Magi, who were then at Ephesus, not reckoning so great a misfortune from the loss of the temple alone, but looking upon it as a presage of greater destruction, fill'd the whole city with mournful exclamations; "That there was
 " a torch kindled somewhere, which, on the like
 " account, and from the same motive, should one
 " day consume all the east." It happen'd at the same time that Philip subdued Potidæa, a colony of the Athenians; had news of his being conqueror at the olympic games, whither he had sent chariots; and receiv'd dispatches of greater moment by a courier from Parmenio, whom he had sent into Illyricum, "That the Macedonians had obtain'd a signal victory
 " over the Barbarians." While he was rejoicing at so good, and so universal a success, he receiv'd the news of Olympias's being brought to bed; and the diviners confidently affirm'd, "That he who was
 " born in the midst of so many victories and tri-
 " umphs, should be an invincible prince." It is reported, that Philip being amazed at such a crowd of successes, and dreading the envy of the gods, begg'd of the goddess Nemesis, "To be contented with re-
 " venging those obsequious services of fortune by
 " some moderate calamity." It is likewise recorded, "That in the city of Pella, two eagles sat on the top
 " of the house where the queen was brought to bed,
 " a whole day; and that this was a presage that he
 " should



“ should be master of the two empires of Asia and
 “ Europe:” which was easy to interpret, after the
 things were come to pass. I find it mention’d also
 in some authors, “ That when that prince was born,
 “ there was an earthquake, and that great thundering
 “ was heard, and lightning seen in the heavens.”
 The most accurate historians tell us he was born in
 the beginning of the 106th olympiad, when Elpines
 was prætor of Athens on the twenty first day of July,
 which month the Macedonians at that time called
 Lous. At this time, the Roman people who had sub-
 sisted almost four hundred years, were engag’d in
 wars with their neighbours, and by their continual
 victories, and daily encrease of dominion, were now
 shewing the prelude of that power which was by de-
 grees to subdue the whole world.

CHAP. II. Philip being blessed with a son, of whom
 so many happy omens made him conceive the highest
 hopes, turn’d all his thoughts towards his education.
 For being a wise man, and a lover of his country, he
 easily perceiv’d that all his endeavours would be to
 no purpose, if he should leave an ignorant and sloth-
 ful prince behind him, to govern Macedonia, while
 things were in an unsettled state every where; and
 that his glory could not be long’d-liv’d, if the great
 things he had begun, should be lost and ruin’d by the
 weakness or negligence of a successor. Among his
 letters, that discreet and elegant one which he wrote
 to Aristotle, who was then at Athens with Plato, is
 yet extant, and is conceiv’d in words much to this
 purpose.

PHILIP to ARISTOTLE wisheth health.

“ I am to acquaint you, that a son is born to me ;
 “ nor do I thank the gods so much for his birth,
 “ as for his being born in your time. I hope that
 A 3 “ when

“ when he shall have been educated and instructed by
 “ you, he shall be worthy of us, and fit to succeed
 “ to so great a kingdom. For I think it much better
 “ to be without children, than to beget them for a
 “ punishment, and educate them to the shame and
 “ dishonour of their ancestors.

Nor was Philip mistaken ; for having been long
 under the direction of Aristotle, the effect was, that
 the instructions he receiv'd from that great master laid
 a foundation for, and enabled him to perform all the
 great exploits which he executed from that time. But
 these were the occurrences of future years. In the
 mean time Leonidas, Olympias's kinsman, and Lysimachus of Acarnania, were appointed to be his foster-fathers and tutors. Besides these, he had one Philip a physician, of the same country, to take care of his health ; and a nurse equally happy in the temperance of her body, and the disposition of her mind, whose name was Hiclanica, the daughter of Dropis, of one of the best families in all Macedon. This care that was taken to bring him up, had so good an effect, that when he was but a child, he gave promising hopes of his becoming that great king which he afterwards shew'd himself to be. For there appear'd a very extraordinary vigor and activity in his tender limbs, and in all the marks of an heroic genius he very far outstrip'd his age. He was by nature of a beautiful and comely make, and despised dress, saying, “ That an
 “ anxious care about adorning of the body, was
 “ proper for women, who had no other gifts that
 “ could set them off to so much advantage. That if
 “ he could but be master of virtue, he should be
 “ handsome and fine enough.” When he grew up, there appear'd a perfect symmetry in his members, his joints were strong and firm ; and being but of a middle stature, he was really stronger than he appear'd

pear'd to be. His skin was white, only his cheeks and his breast were dy'd with an agreeable red ; his hair was yellow, and went into a gentle curl ; his nose was aquiline, and his eyes of different colours ; for his left eye is said to have been blue, and his right very black. There was a certain secret virtue in them ; infomuch that no body could look on his countenance without veneration and fear. He could run with wonderful swiftness, which he often practis'd, even when he was king, as esteeming it of great use in expeditions ; and he was often seen to run for a prize with the swiftest persons about him. He bore fatigue with a patience and firmness that even passes belief ; and by this one virtue he oftentimes sav'd both himself and his armies in the greatest extremities. By frequent exercises, and a very warm constitution, he did so purge off any bad humours which commonly lodge under the skin, that not only his breath, but also what he perspir'd through the pores of his body were sweet, and his very cloaths had a fragrant smell ; and this was the cause, as some think, why he was so much inclin'd to wine and passion. Pictures and statues of him are yet to be seen, which were the performance of the best artists. For lest the comeliness of his face should suffer any thing from the unskilfulness of vulgar sculptors or painters, he strictly forbid any to draw his picture without his order, and threatened to punish any one that should disobey it. In consequence whereof, tho' there was abundance of good workmen, yet Apelles was the only person who had his consent to draw his picture : Pyrgoteles to grave him on precious stones, and Lysippus and Polyclethus to represent him in medals. His governor Leonidas is said to have walk'd too fast, which Alexander learnt of him ; and never was able to help it afterwards by all his endeavours. I am not ignorant that very much is owing to education ; but I am inclin'd to impute
A 4 this

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this rather to the temper of that young prince, than to his accustoming himself to it ; for it was impossible for one of his ardour and impetuosity of spirit, not to have the motions of his body answerable to it. And this hastiness of his was so far from being accounted an imperfection by his successors, that they studiously affected it, and imitated him therein ; as they did in his wry neck, which lean'd to his left shoulder, in his piercing look and high voice, being incapable to copy the virtues of his mind. In reality, there were many of them whose long lives had scarce any thing in them that deserv'd to be compar'd to his childhood. Nor did he ever say or act any thing that was mean or base, but all his words and actions were equal to, or even surpass'd his fortune. For tho' he was most ambitious of praise, yet he did not affect to draw it indifferently from every thing, but would have it arise from things that were most praise-worthy ; being sensible that the praise which arises from mean actions is inglorious and dishonourable, and that that victory which is gained over the bravest enemy, is so much the more noble and illustrious. Therefore when some persons told him, “ that seeing he was an excellent runner, he ought to
“ list himself among those who were to contend for
“ the prize at the olympic games, after the example
“ of a king of his name ; and that thereby he should
“ acquire a great fame all over Greece : ” he answer'd, “ I would certainly do so, if I was to run
“ against kings.” As often as Philip obtain'd any signal victory, or reduc'd any rich and strong place, he could not conceal his grief, amidst the rejoicing of others ; and he was heard to complain amongst boys of his own age, “ That his father would leave nothing
“ for him and them to do, when they came to be
“ men.” For he look'd upon every accession of power and riches to be a diminution to his glory, and had a stronger passion for honour than for wealth.

J. L.

He was naturally dispos'd to sleep but little, and encreas'd his watchfulness by art. If any thing happen'd to him that requir'd serious thought, he put his arm out of the bed, holding a silver ball in his hand, which by its fall into a basin might make a noise, and so disperse that heaviness which was inclining him to slumber. From his very infancy he lov'd to worship the gods splendidly ; and one day as they were sacrificing, he flung so much incense into the fire, that Leonidas, who was a severe and parsimonious man, not being able to bear that profusion, cried out, " You may burn incense in this manner, when you " conquer the countries where it grows." Remembering this saying afterwards, when he settled the affairs of Arabia, which produces incense, he sent Leonidas a vast quantity of this perfume, ordering him withal, " To be more liberal for the future, in paying ho- " nour to the gods, since he was now convinc'd that " they did plentifully repay the gifts that had been " cheerfully made them.

He gave early marks of a sublime and enterprizing genius. Artaxerxes, surnam'd Ochus, was at that time king of Persia. Artabazus and Menapis, both governors of provinces, and Memnon of Rhodes, a famous general, revolted and made war upon him ; but being vanquish'd by the king's forces, they left Asia and fled to Philip. Alexander, who was not then seven years of age, was wonderfully delighted with them, and often ask'd them questions which had nothing either childish or mean in them, concerning the affairs of Persia ; such as, " How the royal dignity and power " were supported ? What sort of arms were used " among the Persians, and whether they were valiant ? " whether their horses run well ? how many days " journey Macedonia was distant from Susa ? what " kind of life the king led, what were his exer- " cises and diversions, and what character he had " with

“ with respect to bravery and virtue ?” Afterwards, when at the intreaty of Mentor, Memnon’s brother, whose sister was married to Artabazus, Ochus had pardon’d the exiles, and demanded them of Philip, Alexander so struck the ambassadors of that king with the admiration of his extraordinary genius at so tender an age, that one of them broke out into these words : “ This boy is indeed a great king, but ours a rich one.” But tho’ he seem’d to owe all this to the bounty of nature, yet he ow’d it no less to his education. For his father being appriz’d, how much advantage he himself had reap’d in the company of Epaminondas, and that he had done much greater things by his eloquence, than by his power ; was very careful that his son should be well tinctur’d with the liberal arts from his very infancy. Wherefore by extraordinary rewards, he retain’d Aristotle, a philosopher of great reputation, to deliver to him even the first elements of letters. Nor was that most learned manaverse from that task, as knowing of how much importance it was, that a prince who was to wear a crown, should be rightly instructed in the beginning ; and how ridiculous a thing it was to contend for all things, without which there was no attaining to greater.

He had afterwards several masters, each of which succeeded in his way ; by which means he not only furnish’d his mind with noble ideas, but likewise by all kind of exercises, brought his body to such a temper, that it could perform all military exercises, and bear all manner of fatigue : nor was he then idle, when he seem’d to be doing nothing : for he did not so much relax his mind by tennis and dancing, as prepare his limbs for more important exercises.

CHAP. III. After he had attain’d to riper years and parts, and was become fit for more serious studies, he was continually in Aristotle’s company, whom his father had recall’d from Mitylene, till such time as he succeeded
to

to the kingdom after his father's death, and undertook an expedition into Asia. During that time, he made himself master of every thing that was to be learn'd from so great an instructor. He apply'd himself to the study of nature, with so much the more application, as he conceiv'd more extraordinary hopes of being one day the emperor of the whole earth ; and he carry'd on and encouraged this study, with a truly royal mind and cost. He commanded all those who liv'd by hunting, fowling or fishing, over Asia and Greece, and every one that had attain'd to any skill that way, to obey Aristotle ; that so he might be the better able to treat clearly and certainly of the nature of animals. 'Tis certain, he allow'd that philosopher eight hundred talents, in order to defray the charges of that undertaking. And so much was he enamour'd with that study, that he laid out money, and bestow'd pains upon it, of which he was never like to see the effects. An hundred years after his death, deers were taken with golden chains about their necks, which he had put on, to the end posterity might judge what credit was to be given to the stories about the great age of those creatures. That he understood the more sublime sciences, which are commonly call'd Acroamatics, is evident from his letter to Aristotle, wherein he complains, " That he had profan'd their dignity, " by divulging their principles." Upon which, Aristotle excus'd himself by answering, " That those " books were publish'd in such a manner, as that they " might be reckon'd not published ; for that no body " would be able to understand the meaning of them, " but such as had already been instructed in the principles which they contain'd." When Alexander demanded his books of rhetoric, he strictly forbid him to let them come to the hands of any other : for he was no less desirous to excel others in arts and sciences, than in power and greatness ; nor could he endure that
men

men of the lowest rank, should share that glory with him. Besides, it appears from his letters, that he studied physic under one Aristotle, who was the son of a physician, of the race of *Æsculapius*. But he studied that part of philosophy so well, which teaches a man to command both himself and others, that he is thought to have undertaken the subversion of that vast weight and power of the Persian empire, rather by his magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, than by his arms and riches. He frankly own'd, " That he ow'd more to Aristotle than to Philip ; for that he was indebted to the one for his life ; to the other, for that life's being formed upon the principles of honour and virtue." Nevertheless, it has been believed by some, not without ground, that his mind, which was so fired with ambition, was yet more inflamed by the too great value which Aristotle set upon honour and glory, which he plac'd in the rank of things that may be called goods ; so that he not only multiply'd wars upon wars, in order to extend his dominions, but would needs be look'd upon as a god.

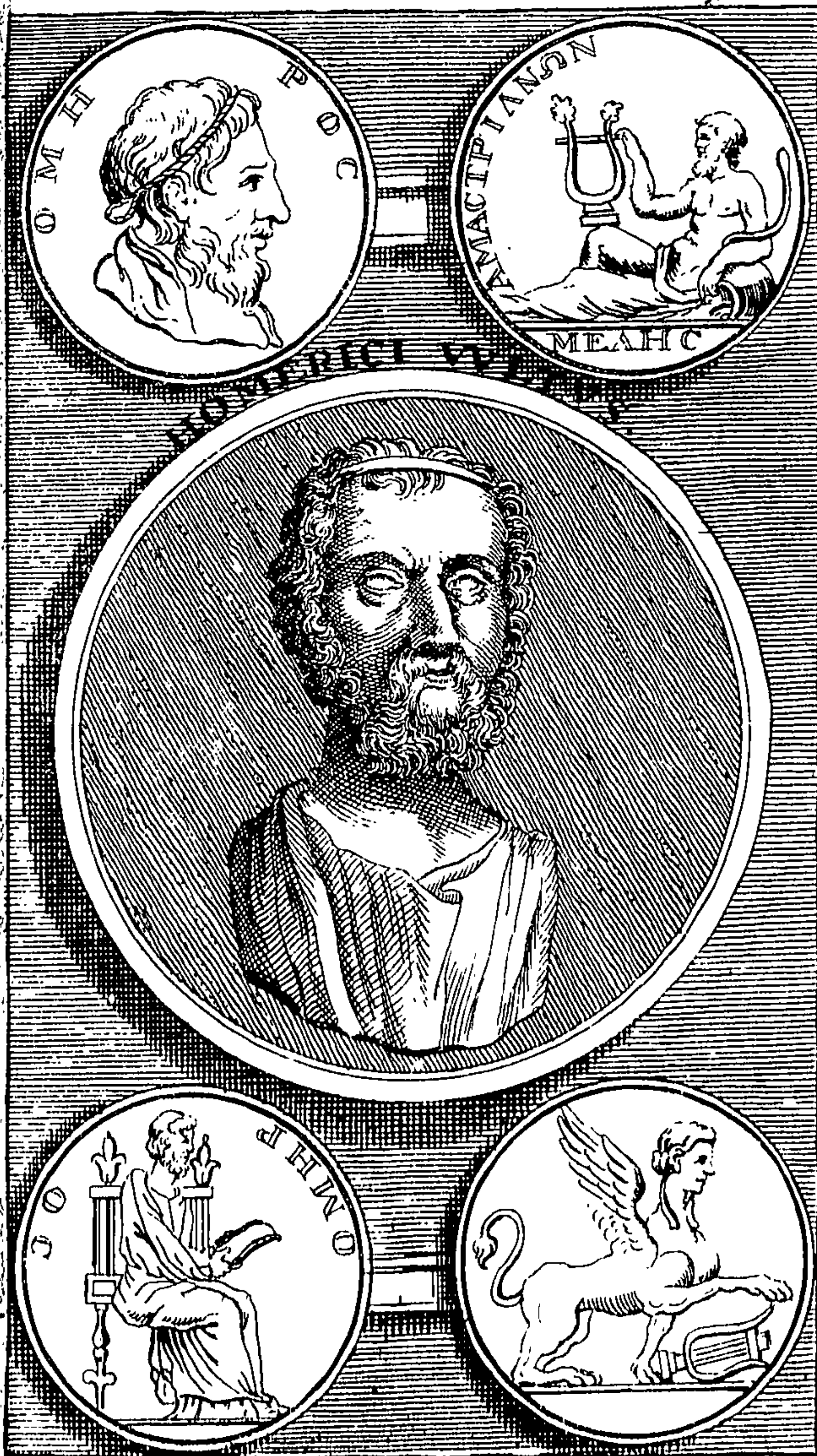
But to continue the thread of our story : Aristotle not only receiv'd great honours and rewards in the reign of Alexander, but even in Philip's life-time he had already received a vast recompence for Alexander's education, having obtained the re-establishment of his own country. The Olynthians had been Philip's bitterest enemies ; for bordering upon Macedonia, and being hitherto equal to him in power, they could not bear, that under a warlike and cunning king, the kingdom should receive accessions of strength and riches, which were one day like to bring destruction or servitude upon his neighbours. For which cause, as the minds of both parties were inflam'd more than ordinarily, so the contention was more stubborn, and the victory prosecuted with greater severity. Philip

took

took and plunder'd the city, and laid it level with the ground ; he sold the inhabitants, and exercised the same severity upon all the other towns of their jurisdiction. Stagira, where Aristotle was born, suffer'd the same misfortune ; but that philosopher rebuilt it with the permission, and at the expence of Philip ; and when it was restor'd to its former state, he gave laws to it, which were observ'd in it from that time. Thus the wisdom of one citizen rais'd that city which had been burn'd and demolish'd, which the powerful efforts of so many brave men could not hinder from being destroyed, when it was standing and in a flourishing state. But in what mighty esteem Aristotle was with Philip, may be guess'd from hence : that he often admonish'd his son to apply himself closely to the study of wisdom under so excellent a master, lest he should afterwards be guilty of many things, which might be the occasion both of his shame and repentance. Nor did Alexander ever after fail to shew the highest respect for his master, even amidst his most important affairs. He had frequent correspondence with him by letters, and not only ask'd his opinion about the Arcana of the sciences, but also sought remedies from him for correcting his manners. Aristotle wrote to him, “ That the best way, in his opinion, to make both himself and his subjects happy, “ was to remember, that so great power was not given “ him to injure mankind, but to do them good : that “ he would do well to set bounds to his passion,” which he knew he was very subject to : “ That it “ was below him to fly out in a passion at his inferiors. “ and that he had not his equal any where to be angry “ with.” But at last, when pride had got the ascendant over him, he began to despise him ; especially when he thought he was become his enemy, upon the account of the death of Calisthenes ; and after, he
fancy'd

fancy'd that Aristotle vex'd him with disputes, contrary to the precepts of wisdom, and out of revenge, on pretence of despising human grandeur and ambition.

It is certain, that a little before his death, when Cassander was endeavouring to vindicate his father from the crimes with which he had been charged, he is said to have broke out into these words : “ That he
 “ was come instructed with the artifices of Aristotle’s
 “ subtilty, to evade the just complaints of others by
 “ fallacious quibbles ;” and then threaten’d “ to do
 “ both of them a mischief, if he found what had
 “ been complain’d of to be true :” And this he pronounc’d with such an angry and stern countenance, that long after his death, Cassander, who then govern’d Greece, happening to see a picture of Alexander at Delphi, was seiz’d with horror and trembling all over his body, by being put in mind of the danger he had been in. This gave occasion to speak very disadvantageously of Aristotle ; because it was the common rumour, that it was by his contrivance that the poison which was the cause of Alexander’s death, was carry’d to Babylon in a horse’s hoof. He was also a great lover of music, and practis’d it with attention in his younger years ; till such time as his father ask’d him in a scornful manner, “ Whether he was
 “ not asham’d to play so elegantly ?” whereupon he began to neglect it, as an art that did not become his majesty. At that time being desir’d by his music-master to touch a certain string according to art, “ What matters it, said he, if I should touch this ?” pointing to another. To which the master answered, “ It is no matter for one who is to be
 “ a king, but it concerns one who would be a good
 “ player upon instruments.” He was afterwards delighted with strong and manly music, and had an
 aversion



aversion to soft effeminate airs, as things by which mens manners were corrupted. Upon which account he was very much taken with Timotheus, who was very famous in that profession; for this man, accommodating his art to Alexander's humour, did once ravish him by Phrygian airs, that he seem'd all in a transport, and actuated as it were by some divine inspiration, and hasten'd to his arms, as if the enemy had been just at hand. He likewise study'd eloquence under Anaximenes Lampfacenus, which was afterwards the cause of saving the city of Lampfacum when Alexander had a mind to destroy it for espousing the interests of the Persians. For beholding Anaximenes coming without the walls, and apprehending that he was coming to beg him to save his country, he swore by the Grecian gods, "That he wou'd not grant what he was coming to ask." Upon the hearing of which, the petitioner, who had his wits about him, ask'd him "to destroy Lampfacum." Alexander being tied by his oath, but more charm'd by his old master's cunning, granted a pardon to the people of Lampfacum. He despis'd comedians, as people that dealt in matters that had no congruity with his designs, and who were born for no other end but to debauch mens morals. Nor did he value prize-fighting champions, tho' they were in great esteem all over Greece, perhaps because he look'd upon them as idle fellows, who pamper'd their bodies, and gave themselves up to shew tricks upon a stage, instead of employing their strength and activity in the service of their country. But he was a great encourager of all other arts, and even of such as had never come the least in the way of his own studies. For which reason, all that esteem'd themselves excellent in any art, came flocking to him from all parts of the world, and either presented him with some piece of their ingenuity, or some specimen of their art; for

for which they commonly receiv'd immense sums from a most liberal and munificent king, whose fortune was equal to the largeness of his soul. He likewise sent rich presents to such as were remarkable either for great learning or virtue, in the remotest parts, which was the reason why there appear'd at that time so many learned men, and excellent artificers, inso-much that scarce any age ever abounded more with useful and fine arts. For nothing is more certain, than that the manners and studies of subjects are formed according to the example of the prince ; and that all the decays that happen to states, are to the honour or disgrace of those who govern.

CHAP. IV. Of all the monuments of antiquity, he had the greatest esteem for Homer, who he thought was the only person that had perfectly describ'd that wisdom by which empires subsist ; and had such a passion for him, that he was called Homer's Lover. He was wont to carry his books always along with him ; and even when he went to bed, he put them and his sword under his pillow, calling them " his military Viaticum, " and the elements of warlike virtue." He esteem'd Achilles to have been happy in finding so great a man to celebrate his virtues.

Having found a most curious casket both for matter and workmanship, amongst the plunder of Damascus, and his friends having ask'd him, " What " use it was most proper for ?" he answer'd, " We " will dedicate it to Homer, since 'tis but reasonable " that the most precious monument of human wit, " should be preserv'd in the finest piece of workman- " ship." From hence the most correct edition of that poet, which Alexander was at much pains to get, was call'd the " edition of the casket ;" because in that casket the Persians had us'd to keep odours and perfumes. One day as a certain messenger of good news

run towards him, in all haste stretching out his right hand, with the highest marks of joy in his countenance ; “ What news can you tell me, says he, that’s worthy of so much joy, unless that Homer is alive again ? ” He was then arriv’d to such a degree of happiness, that he thought there wanted nothing to compleat his glory, but one capable to trumpet his praise. By frequent reading of him, he had got him almost all by heart ; so that no person could quote him more readily or familiarly, or judge of him more justly. But of all his verses, he was best pleas’d with that wherein Agamemnon is prais’d both as a good general and a valiant soldier ; and look’d upon it as his chief incentive to virtue, and the guide of his manners.

Thus being master of those arts and accomplishments, he notably maintain’d the grandeur and dignity of his fortune, and kept himself free from haughtiness and libertinism, by which most princes are acted. His ornament and dress did hardly distinguish him from a private person ; for he was of opinion, that a prince ought to surpass his subjects rather in the culture of virtue, than in the finery of his cloaths. He was chearful, civil, and affable, but so as not to appear little. He was a lover of wine, but went not the length of drunkenness ; for in his leisure hours, he preferred conversation to drinking. He had such a contempt for pleasures, that his mother was afraid he was unfit for begetting children. He held it as an inviolable law, that he ought never to defile another’s bed. He followed these maxims of life and manners a long while, and acted the part of a great and worthy king, till such time as he was shaken by a certain impetus, and changed by a strong current of fortune, so as to depart from his former moderation by degrees. He shew’d an extraordinary courage and dexterity, to the
great

great astonishment of his father and others, in managing the horse Bucephalus, which name was given him from his being mark'd with the figure of an ox's head. Thessaly was very much fam'd at that time for fine horses, and great numbers of them were bred in that country, but none of them was to be compar'd to Bucephalus either for mettle or beautifulneſs; for which reason Philonicus a Pharfalian, thinking him worthy of the greatest prince in those parts, brought him to Philip, and propos'd to sell him for sixteen talents. But when they came to try his speed and management, by riding him out into the fields, there was none of the king's friends or attendants that durst venture to manage him; for he rose upon them, and frighten'd all that essay'd to mount him, by his fierceneſs: so that he was now look'd upon as unmanageable and useless, upon the account of his wildneſs: at which Alexander sighing said, "What a fine horse those people lose through their ignorance and cowardice!" After having repeated these words over and over, his father chid him, "For finding fault with horsemen that were both older and more skilful than himself, as if he could manage that horse better than they." To which he answered, "I will manage him better than they, father, if you will give me leave." Upon this, the father ask'd him, "What he would forfeit if he could not execute what he had undertaken?" "I will forfeit the price of the horse," reply'd he. At this every body smil'd, and agreed, "That if he won, his father should buy the horse for him; but if he lost, he should lay down the money himself." Then Alexander taking the horse by the bridle, turn'd him directly to the sun, that so he might not see his shadow; for he had observ'd, that this frighten'd him, and made him more untractable. Finding his fury was not much abated notwithstanding this,

this, he stroak'd his mane, laid his cloak aside gently, and jump'd upon him at once, though he was foaming with rage. Then Bucephalus, that was not us'd to obey, begun to fling with his heels, and throw about his head, and very obstinately refuse to be guided by the bridle; then he essay'd to get loose, and run away full speed. He was then in a spacious plain that was fit for riding in: wherefore Alexander giving him the rein, and setting his spurs to his sides, rid shouting with all the vigour and fury imaginable. And after he had travers'd a vast space of ground, till he was weary, and willing to stop, he spurr'd him on till such time as his mettle was exhausted, and he became tame; after which, he brought him back very gentle and tractable. When Alexander alighted, his father embrac'd him with tears of joy, and kissing him, said, "He must seek out a larger empire for himself, for that the kingdom of Macedon was too small for so vast a spirit." Afterwards Bucephalus continued the same fierceness towards others, while he obey'd Alexander alone with a wonderful submission; and after he had been his companion in many labours and dangers, he was at last kill'd in a battle against Porus. The most excellent artificers thought this was a worthy subject to celebrate their skill upon: and there are two marble statues of Alexander taming his horse, which were a tryal of skill between Praxiteles and Phidias. And tho' it is not certain that they are the statues of Alexander, yet some authors of very good note have believed them to be so.

By these and such like tryals of his genius and courage, he came to so high an esteem with Philip, that when he laid siege to the city of Byzantium, he thought his son fit to be trusted with the entire management of the affairs of all Macedonia, tho' he was then but sixteen years of age. Some of the Medari
(who

(who were a people of Thrace, and subject to Macedonia) perceiving this, thought they had now found a fit opportunity for a revolt, which they had long meditated, and so made no scruple of discovering their designs. But the young prince, glad of this occasion of shewing his courage and conduct, march'd against them in all haste, with the captains that his father had left behind him ; and having overcome the rebels, and banish'd them from the city, he gave it to be inhabited by strangers of several nations, which they called Alexandropolis, after the name of their founder. Tho' this success was the cause of great joy to Philip, yet fearing lest the young prince might undertake, to his own destruction, things beyond his power, if he was left to his own conduct, he sent for him, to the end that under his tutorage he might learn to moderate his heat with prudence, and made use of his strenuous and ready service, which was ever full of spirit and alacrity, in subduing the cities of the Chersonesus. But finding that the siege of the city of Byzantium drew into length, both because the place was strong, and the inhabitants fought bravely in defence of their liberty ; and besides, being inform'd that both the Greeks and Barbarians, who were jealous of the growth of Philip's power, were coming from all parts to their assistance ; he despair'd of being master of that city, and was only solicitous how to break up from the siege with the greatest safety for his men, and his honour. Atheas was at that time king of the Getæ, a people of Scythia ; who being press'd by the Istrians, demanded succours of Philip ; promising at the same time to make him his heir, if by his assistance he cou'd retrieve his desperate affairs. But when he found that the enemy's general was dead, and himself delivered from the apprehension of war, he sent back the Macedonians without fulfilling his promise,

promise, telling them, “ That he neither wanted
“ their assistance, nor the adoption of Philip ; that he
“ had troops enough of his own to defend him against
“ his enemies, and that he had a son to succeed him
“ in his kingdom.” Philip being nettled at this foul
dealing, and bent upon revenge, rais’d the siege of
Byzantium, and march’d his troops into Scythia,
where he engag’d the Barbarians, whom he overcame
by his wise conduct, notwithstanding their superiority
in number. All the booty of that victory consisted of
vast flocks of cattle and horses, and female captives
and children ; nor was there any other prey taken ;
for the Getæ were not desirous of riches, but content-
ing themselves with daily sustenance, reckon’d poverty
amongst the conveniencies of life. When Philip was
returning from Scythia, and march’d through the
country of the Triballi with a vast equipage and much
baggage ; that people taking possession of all the roads,
denied him passage, unless he would give them a
share of his booty. There were Greek mercenary
troops in Philip’s army, who took it ill too that they
had not a share in the fruits of that victory, since they
had been sharers in the danger.

This occasion’d a mutiny in the army, which issued
in a very hot dispute, in which many of both sides lay
dead on the spot, and the king himself was wounded
in the thigh, and his horse was kill’d with the same
wound ; such was the force of the dart, and so great
the strength of him that threw it. Here Alexander
was the first person that ran in to the relief of his
father, who was lying upon the ground. He cover-
ed him with his shield, kill’d some that were rushing
upon him, and put the rest to flight. Thus was
the father sav’d by the piety and duty of his son,
while those who were just ready to dispatch him ran
away, as believing he was already dead ; so that he
seem’d

seem'd to owe his life to the desperate condition of his wound, and escap'd death, by the supposition of his having already suffer'd it.

Mean while, in this hurry and confusion, the booty was lost. Philip was lame by this wound, and when at first he seem'd to regret that imperfection of his limbs, his son comforted him by this saying, that deserves to be remembred by all succeeding ages, " That he ought not to be angry at a wound, which put him in mind of his valour at every step he took.

Philip had by this time acquired fame and power enough ; he had receiv'd abundance of wounds, and gone through dangers enough, if his mind that was blinded with ambition could have suffer'd him to live in quiet. He had made the Macedonians, who had formerly been tributaries to the Illyrians, masters not only of all their neighbours, but also of very distant nations. He had subdu'd the Triballi, reduc'd Thrace under his obedience, and commanded many of the Greek states ; and influenc'd others, either by fear, or by bribes. Daochus, Cincas, Thrasydæus, Eudicus, and Simus of Larissa, had conquer'd the Thessalians for him ; Cercidas, Hieronymus and Eucalpidas, the Arcadians ; Myrtis, Teledamus and Mnaseas, the Argives ; Euixtheus, Cleotimus and Aristæchmus, the Eleans ; Neon and Thrasyllochus, the Sons of Philides, had subdu'd the Messenians ; Aristratys and Demaratus the Sicyonians ; Ptsæodorus, Helixus and Perilaus, the Megarenians ; and Hipparchus, Clitarclus, and Sosistratus, the Euboeans. Now these three great men, were chiefs of their cities : Besides, Euthycrates and Lashenes had betrayed Olynthus.

In short, Sparta was the only commonwealth that nobly preserv'd her liberty, and was free from treachery. But as Philip aspired at the conquest of all Greece, he easily perceived that the power of the Athenians

Athenians was the greatest bar to his enterprizes: nor was that commonwealth without traitors: but the people, who could do what they had a mind to, oppos'd the growing power of the Macedonians, by the persuasion of Demosthenes: having understood by frequent contentions (as it often falls out among powerful neighbours) how daring and cunning Philip was, and how little he regarded either reputation or faith, when dominion was in the dispute. The king was mightily enrag'd against the Athenians, because it was to them that his late miscarriage at Byzantium was owing; for they not only sent to their assistance a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, but likewise prevail'd upon the people of Chius and Rhodes to do the same thing. Wherefore, while the wound which he had receiv'd in the country of the Triballi was a curing, he made all manner of preparations secretly, in order to fall upon the Athenians, when they least suspected his design. He kept an army on foot, on pretence that the Illyrians, who were naturally fierce, and unacquainted with servitude, had already attempted to shake off the yoke that had been lately put upon them.

Alexander was sent against those Barbarians, whom having defeated and put to flight, he gave the world such hopes of his fortune and virtue, and conceiv'd the same of himself, that he now thought he was able to govern affairs by himself, without his father's direction. These things were done in the space of two years. Now Philip having all things ready for his enterprize, and thinking it was high time to put in execution what he had for some time design'd, took hold of as good an occasion as he could have with'd, to lead his army into Greece, which he did before the spring of the year, and sent for the troops of his allies out of Peloponnesus. He had been created general

neral of the Greeks by a decree of the Amphictyone. to chastise the insolence of the Locrians, who inhabited the city of Amphissa : for in contempt of the authority of the Amphictyones, they continued to occupy the territory of Cyrrha, tho' it was dedicated to Apollo, and had wounded their general, and cut in pieces several of their men. Philip was at that time in alliance with the Athenians ; but they lookt upon that as a small security, if the king could make any advantage of breaking his faith. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to him, to desire him “ to observe “ the treaty, or at least to commit no hostility ’till the “ spring was well advanced. That in the mean while “ the Athenians would consult about measures to accommodate the differences that were between “ them. They likewise sent an embassy to Thebes “ to represent to the Thebans the common danger “ and to exhort them to concur with them in the defence of all Greece.”

But Philip preserv'd the friendship between the Thebans and Macedonians, through the mediation of his partizans and friends, the chief of which were Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anematas, who had great influence over their countrymen. In fine, persuaded himself, that he should easily gain his point, if he had to do only with the Athenians, having already overcome the Locrians and their confederates at Amphissa, he march'd his army with all speed into Phocis, surprized Elatea, which equally commanded the borders of the Thebans and the Athenians, put a garrison into it, and fortified it, as if he had design'd to make it a seat of the war. When this news was brought to Athens in the Night, the whole City was fill'd with such a consternation, that early next morning, when the people were assembled, and the public crier had, as usual, invited any man to speak what he had to offer

conducive to the public safety, no body stood up to speak. At last Demosthenes, after having discoursed of such things as were suitable to the occasion, persuaded the people, “ That they ought without delay
“ to draw out their army and their fleet, and send
“ ambassadors to all the Grecian states, but especially
“ to the Thebans.” A decree being made agreeable to this proposition, Chares and Lyficles were appointed generals of the forces, and Demosthenes was order’d to go ambassador to the Thebans. These proceedings could not escape the vigilance of Philip, who knew very well he should have a heavy war upon his hands, if those people should join in confederacy. For the Athenians were at that time both rich and powerful ; nor was either the power or the reputation of the Thebans to be contemned. Nor was the memory of the famous battle of Leuctra yet out of men’s minds, by which victory they wrested the sovereignty of Greece out of the hands of the Lacedemonians.

Wherefore that he might both confirm his confederates, and baffle the contrivances of the opposite faction, he sent thither two Macedonians, Amyntas and Clearchus, and with them one Pitho a Byzantine, on whose eloquence he depended. This Byzantine is said to have spoke in the assembly of the Boeotians in the following manner.

“ If you had no alliance with Philip, and the Athenian army were in possession of Elatea, while he
“ lay idle in Macedonia, yet I have no room to doubt
“ but you would even then be desirous of his friendship and alliance. For indeed, who would not prefer so potent a king, who has done so many brave
“ things, to a republic whose reputation and fame are
“ inferior to its strength ? But now, since that prince,
“ who, as it were, possesses the very gates of your
“ city,

“ city, with his victorious troops, is your friend
 “ and ally ; and since you have receiv'd many af-
 “ fronts and injuries from the Athenians both for-
 “ merly and lately it would be an insolence to per-
 “ suade you to an alliance with them, and to contemn
 “ the friendship of so great a king. But those peo-
 “ ple, who are the proudest and haughtiest of mor-
 “ tals, fancy that they alone are wise and prudent,
 “ and that all the rest of mankind, but especially the
 “ Bœotians (for 'tis chiefly you that they insult) are
 “ foolish and unpolish'd, and understand neither what
 “ is profitable nor honest. Thus they fancy they
 “ shall be able to persuade you to what you can never
 “ do without the extreamest folly, and that is, to
 “ chuse friends and enemies rather according to their
 “ humours than for your own benefit ; confiding in
 “ a flourish of words, in which consists all the
 “ strength. But no man in his senses ever prefers
 “ words before facts, especially in war, wherein the
 “ hands are of service, but the exercise of the tongue
 “ is impertinent. Whatever stresses they may lay up-
 “ on their eloquence, the fortune and virtue of Phi-
 “ lip, which are supported by both his own and his
 “ auxiliary forces, will always be superior. In ear-
 “ nest, 'tis hard to say, whether the folly or the im-
 “ pudence of their demands be greatest. Thebans
 “ say they, expose yourselves to the thunder that re-
 “ vers over Athens, make war upon a king who is
 “ your friend and ally, at the hazard of your own
 “ ruin, that we may continue in safety. Stake down
 “ your lands, your lives before him, to prevent Philip
 “ from revenging the injuries of the Athenians. Are
 “ these the demands of men who are in their sense
 “ or think others have the use of theirs ? They who
 “ but very lately omitted no occasion of oppressing
 “ you, they who pursued you with reproaches, ex-
 “

“rages and arms, as much as in them lay, and look’d
“upon your dangers and misfortunes as their happi-
“ness; these same people have the confidence to pro-
“pose to you, to chuse to perish with them, rather
“than be victorious with Philip. But this prince,
“who was once your guest and foster-child, who
“was brought up with that famous general Epami-
“nondas, whose life and morals bear the fairest cha-
“racter, has from his youth imbib’d an affection for
“your city, and the economy and manners of its
“inhabitants. He revenged the injuries done to you
“and to Apollo in the Phocian war, when the Athe-
“nian, out of hatred to you, sent succours to one
“of your countrymen who was guilty of sacrilege;
“and when he was again invited by the unanimous
“decree of the Amphictyones, he revenged the con-
“tempt of the same deity upon the Locrians: and
“marched even thither to consult your interests, and
“would not depart, till such time as he had deliver’d
“you from the fear of that rival city, which has al-
“ways been your enemy. If you are inclined to
“execute this design by your common councils and
“forces, he will not be against your coming in for a
“share of the booty, rather than a share of the war:
“but if you had rather be neuter, only grant him a
“passage; for he alone is able to revenge all your
“common injuries: even in that case you shall reap
“equal fruits of victory. The flocks, herds and
“slaves that shall be won from the enemy, shall most
“of them fall to your share, as being the nearest
“neighbours; and thus you will make up the loss
“you sustain’d in the Phocian war. I leave you
“yourselves to judge whether this will not be more
“advantageous for you, than to have your fields
“burnt, your towns storm’d, set on fire, and plun-
“der’d, and all your affairs put in disorder and con-
“fusion

“ fusion, just as the Athenians with them. In truth
 “ sincerity that is unjustly suspected, turns to rage,
 “ and the greatest good-will, when it is slighted, con-
 “ cludes in the bitterest revenge. I do not say this
 “ as if I was upbraiding you for ingratitude, which
 “ I have not the least apprehension of; nor to strike
 “ terror into you, which I trust there will be no oc-
 “ casion for; but that the memory of Philip’s good
 “ offices towards you, and of yours towards him,
 “ may convince you, that those alliances only are
 “ firm and perpetual, which it is the interest of both
 “ parties to observe. If he has merited more of you
 “ than you have done of him, it will be your duty,
 “ to shew the same good dispositions, and use the
 “ same endeavours not to fall short of him in this re-
 “ spect. He thinks that the greatest recompence for
 “ all his labours is his having supported Greece by his
 “ succour; for the safety and honour of which he
 “ has waged continual war with the Barbarians.
 “ Would to the gods, the madness of the Athenians
 “ had permitted him to follow his own courses! you
 “ would have heard by this time, that his arms,
 “ which he is now constrain’d to move about Greece,
 “ to repress the disturbances raised by seditious and
 “ ill-designing persons, were triumphing in Asia. He
 “ might certainly have been in friendship with the
 “ Athenians, unless he had thought it below him, and
 “ of bad example, to become tributary to this De-
 “ mosthenes, and some others, who drive the ignorant
 “ multitude whither they please by the breath of
 “ their orations, as the winds drive the waves of the
 “ sea. Doubtless, had they any regard for honour or
 “ honesty, they would do their duty without being
 “ brib’d to it. But they who are accustom’d to sell
 “ their honour, make no distinction between things
 “ that are useful, and things that are dangerous, be-
 “ tween

“ tween justice and injustice, if they find their advantage in wickedness as well as in goodness ; they are wrought upon by interest, and not by the love of virtue or their country, nor respect for gods or men. In vain will you expect any thing from those men that is either virtuous or reputable : they who have the interest of their country so little at heart, will never be concern’d for your interests : they will involve you in the same calamities from which you have been lately deliver’d by the courage and faith of the Macedonians. Calamities so much the greater, by how much Philip must be a more formidable enemy than Philomelus or Onomarchus were. For in a precarious command, the endeavours of a good and able general will be no less travers’d by his own countrymen, than by the enemy. Whence you learn to oppose or disobey a king’s command : his will alone is the rule by which his people are governed ; and of what importance this is in affairs of war, you all know. Nor is that security of the Macedonians confin’d to one person : tho’ fate should dispose of Philip, we have an Alexander to rise up in his stead, who has even at so green an age given such proofs of his courage and genius, that it is almost evident he will be equal to the most renowned generals. On the contrary, the power of peace and war residing in all the people promiscuously among the Athenians, the boldest pretender assumes it to himself, as a thing that belongs to the first seizer : there all things are managed rather by starts of passion, than by counsel and deliberation : men of ill designs persuade, and the ignorant decree : war is undertaken with more heat than it is carried on ; and treaties are broke with the same ease that they were made. For they also have a treaty with Philip, which how

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“ sacredly

“ sacredly they keep, appears from their actions and
 “ behaviour. For they do not think it enough that
 “ they break faith themselves, unless they spread the
 “ contagion wider. But your steadiness, O Thebans,
 “ by which you are no less famous and great, than by
 “ your brave and successful exploits, leaves no room
 “ to doubt, but you will prefer the friendship of
 “ king which you have had repeated proofs of :
 “ that of a city which has always been your enemy
 “ and enemy of your glory. Nor will Hercules
 “ the avenger of evil, whom your city adores as their
 “ patron deity, and fellow citizen with a peculiar veneration,
 “ ever suffer you to engage in an unjust, and
 “ improper war, against one who is descended from
 “ his blood. As to his other allies, you may learn
 “ from themselves, what value they have for the
 “ king's friendship.”

These were the words of Pitho : then the deputies
 of the allies were heard, who prais'd the king's af-
 fection to them ; and then remonstrated :

“ That he who was the protector of Greece, ought
 “ rather to be follow'd, than the Athenians, who
 “ were the disturbers of it.

But when Demosthenes had liberty to speak,
 “ I was not ignorant, said he, that those mercena-
 “ ries of Philip would neither spare their praises upon
 “ him, nor their reproaches upon us. For they who
 “ have laid aside all shame, are little solicitous of
 “ either what they say or do, so they gain their point.
 “ But, O Thebans, if I understand your temper,
 “ they will find themselves mightily disappointed in
 “ their expectations, and carry back an answer to
 “ Philip that is worthy of your virtue, and of the
 “ discipline of the Greeks: In the mean while, pray
 “ take good heed to what lies upon us to do at this
 “ time. For that your whole fortune depends upon

“ . . .

“ this day’s deliberation, I shall shew, by irrefra-
“ gable arguments, and not by the charms or magic
“ of words, by which they pretend to be afraid you
“ may be imposed upon : They may lay aside their
“ fear, since they are so solicitous about you ; for
“ we shall not in the least endeavour to appear more
“ eloquent than they. A bad cause, indeed, has
“ sometimes been mightily indebted to the power
“ of eloquence ; but when it is the business of him
“ that speaks, to shew the naked truth, if he is wise,
“ he will never take up his time in a flourish of
“ words. As to Philip, we are very little concern’d
“ about his character ; let him, for us, resemble the
“ picture they have drawn of him ; let him be
“ handsome, eloquent, or a good companion at an
“ entertainment ; for some people have praised him
“ even for these qualifications ; and thus confess’d
“ him deficient in real and solid glory. But I can-
“ not help wondering, that his ambassador should re-
“ proach us in your presence, with those things,
“ which if they are crimes, do without dispute e-
“ qually affect the Thebans and the Athenians.
“ They have been endeavouring to expose the in-
“ conveniencies of a popular form of government,
“ which tho’ both you and we are sensible of, yet
“ do we prefer it to regal tyranny. They have
“ talk’d to you at such a rate, as if they had a mind
“ to obtain favour by tickling the ears of a popular
“ circle, or a publick assembly of Macedonians ;
“ and not as if they came to a free city, to execute
“ the office of ambassadors. We very well know
“ the irreconcilable hatred that kings and their slaves
“ have to free cities and people ; and they have
“ done very foolishly to discover this : But we are to
“ take so much the greater care, Thebans, to defend
“ our laws and privileges. It were to be wish’d,

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“ above all things, that those who are call’d to the
 “ administration of affairs in commonwealths, were
 “ engaged only in this glorious contention, who
 “ should consult the interests of their commonwealth
 “ best, or who should best execute the resolutions
 “ that are taken : Then none would prefer his own
 “ advantage to the common good ; none would re-
 “ ceive bribes ; and none would betray his country
 “ to Philip, after the example of these deputies.
 “ But, Thebans, entire and perfect felicity was ne-
 “ ver the lot of any man or any state : He is the
 “ happiest person whose circumstances are freest from
 “ misfortunes. It is past dispute, that we have
 “ bad citizens, nor have you been without them in
 “ former times, Thebans, nor are you even at this
 “ time. If this were not so, Philip would not threa-
 “ ten our liberty at this day from Elatea, but would
 “ be obliged to contend with us for the kingdom
 “ of Macedonia. However, we have good citizens
 “ too, and these more numerous and more powerful
 “ than the bad ones. Do you want a proof of this ?
 “ We are free : We are not Philip’s slaves, as you
 “ thought to have made your Byzantines, Python :
 “ but as for you Daochus, and you Thrasidæus, you
 “ have sold your Thessalians to the king. In effect,
 “ Thebans, you behold Thessaly languishing under
 “ the servitude of Philip at this day ; and if I mis-
 “ take not, you deplore their hard condition as well
 “ as we. No thanks to Python that Byzantium did
 “ not suffer the same fate with Olynthus ; but its de-
 “ liverance is owing to us. For that religious and
 “ venerable protector of Greece, had resolved to
 “ oppress that Greek city, which was in his alliance
 “ and confederacy, and in no apprehension of being
 “ attack’d. Behold, wherein consists the prudence
 “ of this great prince ! With him artifice and cun-

“ning is good policy ; perjury is an art of science,
“and perfidy a virtue.

“If this be not the case, pray let him tell what
“other way he arrived at that formidable power he
“is now possess’d of ? If it was not by surprizing
“the Greeks with frauds, stratagems, and treachery ;
“if it was not by conquering the Barbarians rather
“with gold than with the sword ; or in fine, whe-
“ther he ever stick to engage his faith to any mor-
“tal, or brake it when engag’d. And yet these
“deputies give him the glorious title of protector
“of Greece, and call us the disturbers of it ! But
“what will they be asham’d of, who had rather
“charge us with their own faults, than remind you
“of those they are evidently guilty of ? If any one
“was guilty of treason or of taking bribes, it would
“be consistent with your interest and character to
“defend, protect, and shelter him from the punish-
“ment of the laws ; but now by accusing others
“you are pronouncing sentence on yourselves. If
“you did this without any aim or design, then pray
“where was your sense or prudence ? But if you did
“it wittingly and willingly, then where was your
“modesty ? It is a sufficient vindication of my inno-
“cence, and of theirs who are embark’d in the same
“cause with me, that you yourselves own we have
“receiv’d nothing from Philip ; for had we ask’d
“any thing of him, we should not have gone away
“empty-handed from so liberal a king as you give
“out yours is. Would not he who thought it worth
“his while to corrupt you, have also given us bribes,
“if we had ask’d them ? But you have just now ad-
“monish’d the Thebans not to follow the council of
“those who have not the interests of their country at
“heart. From this minute I cease to oppose them,
“Thebans, if they are really of that mind : I come

“ over to their sentiments, and I exhort, pray, and
 “ beseech you with all the earnestness possible, and
 “ conjure you by your own safety, and that of all
 “ Greece, to embrace their proposition. If you come
 “ in to this, you will not suffer yourselves to be sold
 “ for droves of cattle, nor suffer your possessions to
 “ be made your prisons, nor shall be slaves under
 “ the Pæonians and Triballi, like the rest of Philip’s
 “ slaves. For they would have you to look upon
 “ flocks and slaves, which are the glorious reward
 “ of servitude, and contemn your wives, your chil-
 “ dren, your parents, your liberty, your reputation,
 “ your faith, and in fine, every thing that is sacred
 “ and venerable among the Greeks, as not worthy
 “ your care. Thus certainly, Thebans, you have
 “ lost and forfeited all these, unless you unite with
 “ us in resisting the fraud and violence of Philip.
 “ But if you should imagine yourselves safe in the
 “ care and endeavours of others, I am afraid you
 “ will find yourselves egregiously mistaken. For if
 “ Philip should accomplish his designs (which I can-
 “ not think of without horror and detestation) who
 “ can doubt but that all Greece, as well as you, will
 “ lose their liberty? And who, but they who have
 “ a mind to perish, would lay any stress upon the
 “ faith of such a prince? But if victory should de-
 “ clare for us, pray consider what you ought to ex-
 “ pect from men whom you deserted and abandon’d,
 “ when both their safety and their glory were at
 “ stake? For whatever way your opinion may sway
 “ you, you may depend upon it, that the Athenians
 “ are resolv’d to venture all, and that they will never
 “ lose their liberty but with their lives. Nor do we
 “ distrust our strength, to which if you will join
 “ yours, we shall, when united, be superior to the
 “ enemy, to which either of us singly might per-
 “

“ haps be equal. The Athenians are not ignorant
“ of his power, which they foresaw while it was
“ rising and encreasing ; and had all the Greek states
“ been of one and the same mind, we might easily
“ have set bounds to it. For we waged war with
“ him a long time, not for Amphipolis or Halo-
“ nesus, as many believ’d, but for the safety and
“ liberty of Greece ; till being abandon’d by all,
“ and attack’d by some, we were forc’d to make a
“ necessary rather than an honourable peace. But
“ now, I trust, Minerva, the guardian goddess of
“ our city, and the Pythian Apollo, who is the na-
“ tive god of our country, and all the rest of the
“ Grecian gods, have at last open’d their eyes, and
“ raised the courage of all their worshippers in de-
“ fence of our ancient liberty, which has been trans-
“ mitted to us by our fore-fathers. Sure Hercules
“ could not hear the words of the ambassadors with-
“ out indignation, when they derived Philip’s pedi-
“ gree from that god. For can that god own him
“ who is a contemner of all religions ? Can a Greek
“ acknowledge a Macedonian for his descendant ?
“ Can one that hates, punishes, and extirpates ty-
“ ranny, own a tyrant ? For in this appeared the il-
“ lustrious and memorable deeds of Hercules, more
“ than in any thing else. Philip, on the contrary,
“ exercises unjust dominion over Greece, and has set
“ domestick tyrants over several cities thereof ; such
“ as Philistides over Oreum, Hipparchus over Ere-
“ tria, and Taurosthenes over Chalcis. For this rea-
“ son the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Mega-
“ rensiens, Leucadians and Corcyraens have decla-
“ red for us : Others wait the event, which has hi-
“ therto been the only support of the power of Ma-
“ cedonia, and which will fall of itself, whenever it
“ begins in the least to decline. As to the Thessa-
“ lians

“ lians, by whom Philip is now so well furnished
 “ with horse, they never stood firm to one side long :
 “ The Illyrians and other Barbarians bordering upon
 “ Macedonia, who are naturally fierce and savage,
 “ and mightily enraged at their new servitude, will
 “ immediately declare for us, and ease us of the bur-
 “ den of the war, if Philip should meet with bad
 “ success at the first. Only concur heartily with us
 “ in so glorious a design, and in the mean while lay
 “ aside those contentions, which a very slight cause
 “ often produces among neighbouring states. Pub-
 “ lick joy will turn private grudges into mutual be-
 “ nevolence, when success crowns our endeavours ;
 “ or when we have leisure to give vent to our un-
 “ reasonable passions, they may be resum'd perhaps
 “ to the dishonour and damage of us both, but
 “ without destroying us entirely. I would not have
 “ you to be afraid of the artifices of Philip, only
 “ shut your ears against his promises, and keep your
 “ hands clean of his bribes. If you have your li-
 “ berty most at heart, cunning and gifts will have
 “ no effect upon you : As the discords of the Greeks
 “ have rais'd his power, so their union will over-
 “ throw it. Besides as he is rash and headstrong,
 “ he may be easily taken off ; and if this happens,
 “ there is no danger to be fear'd from others : For
 “ he seeks glory and dominion, while those who are
 “ subject to him desire nothing more than quiet.
 “ But perhaps you dread Alexander, because his par-
 “ tizans condemn you at such a rate, that they
 “ think you may be frighten'd at the name of a
 “ boy.”

You would have thought that this speech of De-
 mosthenes had perfectly chang'd the Thebans into
 other men all of a sudden. They who had heard
 the ambassadors of Philip, but a little before with
 attention,

attention, and even with consent and approbation, were now so far of another mind, that they declar'd, they would look upon Philip as an enemy, unless he quickly departed from their borders, and those of their allies; that they would drive from their city all that were in the Macedonian interest, and receive into it the troops of the Athenians. But Philip, who was more vex'd than frighten'd at the Thebans abandoning him so unexpectedly, continu'd to carry on his enterprize. After two slight engagements, in both of which the Athenians had the better, the two armies encamped with all their forces near Cheronea a city of Bœotia. The Greeks were animated by the deeds of their ancestors, and their concern for liberty; and Philip trusted to his excellent troops, that had been victorious in so many battles: Nor did he put small confidence in his own conduct, because he excelled in the art of war; besides that, the most renowned generals of the Greeks were dead. The Thebans were ruled at that time by Theagenes, a man who had but little experience in war, and was not proof against money; and Philip infinitely surpass'd the Athenian generals both in experience and courage. But the united forces of two powerful states, whose authority was followed by the Corinthians and others, made him apprehend, that the fortune of a small part of one day might cost him both his life and his dominions. The leading men among the Thebans seem'd inclin'd to listen to proposals of peace; but the ardor of the Athenians prevail'd so far, as to make them consent to hazard all the hopes and power of Greece in one battle. On the other side, Alexander, whose fire and spirit could not be restrained, conjured his father, not to let so favourable an opportunity of getting glory slip out of his hands; and

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and having obtain'd leave to venture a battle, he was the first that began the attack upon the enemy. The fight was carried on with obstinacy, and success was doubtful for a long time; till at last the young prince, to whom his father had given the command of one of the wings with some select troops, having with great vigour and resolution attack'd the sacred cohort of the Thebans, which consisted of their best troops, oblig'd them to give ground, and so open'd a way to victory. For the Athenians being disheartned by the misfortunes of their allies, and weaken'd with the heat and their wounds, were not able to make head against the Macedonians any longer: Besides, Philip being rais'd by emulation and shame, lest he should come short of his son, who was but a youth, fell upon them with such fury, that they were no longer able to stand their ground. Thus one battle determin'd concerning the liberty of Greece. Of the Athenians above a thousand were kill'd, and above two thousand taken prisoners; a great many of the allies also were either kill'd in the action, or forc'd to surrender themselves to the power of the conqueror. After which, Alexander was sent to Athens, to assure the Athenians, that Philip both forgave them, and sent them peace; and likewise restor'd to them their prisoners without ransom, neither did he hinder them from burying their dead: For the king being wholly intent on the Persian war, endeavour'd to secure himself of the fidelity and affection of the Greeks, by his clemency and moderation. Yet he took from the Athenians the sovereignty of the town and the islands: He dealt more severely with the Thebans, by whose defection, he remember'd his affairs were brought into the greatest danger; and because he thought, that as they were his ancient allies,

allies, and had receiv'd favours from him, they had no reason to join with the Athenians against him ; therefore, upon the surrender of their town, he put into it a garison of Macedonians, and having put to death those he most hated and suspected, and banish'd others, he conferr'd the magistracy and judicature on those of his own faction, whom he had recall'd from their exile. He reduc'd the other people who had taken up arms against him, with the same torrent of victory, insomuch that there was not in all Greece any, except the Spartans and the Arcadians, that remain'd exempt from his power ; forcing some by his arms, and others by disadvantageous alliances, to comply with his authority. Having therefore appointed a general assembly of all Greece, at Corinth, he made a speech to them about carrying the war into Persia, telling them, “ It was necessary to go and meet the Barbarians, “ whose pride had already laid a scheme for universal empire, that they must resolve to be slaves “ for ever, or in time oppose their power. For the “ case was not, whether the Greeks would have war “ or peace ; but, whether they had rather carry the “ war into the enemy's country, or receive it in “ their own. That they ought not only to revenge “ former injuries, but also remove the present “ shame ; by delivering the Greek cities, situate in “ Asia, from the Persian slavery. That this might “ be easily effected, if settling the affairs of Greece, “ they were at liberty to turn all their forces to “ the war beyond the sea. That peace at home “ would thereby be secur'd, having remov'd and “ employ'd in a more remote and foreign war those “ restless and audacious spirits, whose idleness was “ usually the grounds of sedition, and civil commotions. That they ought therefore to make choice of
of

“ of a general, and settle the number of troops with
 “ which they design'd to carry on this war.”

Most people were sensible of the vastness of the demand; but they judg'd it unseasonable to assert by words, that liberty they had lost in arms: Wherefore, without any farther deliberation, Philip is with loud acclamations declar'd general of Greece, and ordered to march into Asia, for the safety and delivery of the whole world. An account is therefore taken of the wealth of every one, and it is enter'd into books, what soldiers, corn and money each should supply. I find they engag'd for two hundred thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; in which number, neither the Macedonians, nor the Barbarians that were subjects to them, were compris'd.

But as there is no felicity in human affairs, without a mixture of adversity, the prosperity abroad was succeeded by domestic troubles. Olympias, as we hinted before, by her moroseness and haughty temper, every day more and more alienated the mind of her royal husband. Some alledge that, for the cause of her divorce; but I find that he married Cleopatra, before Olympias, his first wife, left him. For it is not reasonable to think that Alexander would have been present at the wedding of his step-mother, which was so dishonourable to his own mother whom he lov'd so dearly, and whose disgrace reflected on himself; for they pretend that she was divorc'd on suspicion of adultery. Now Alexander was at the wedding, and carried off his mother not till a quarrel arose: for Attalus, the bride's uncle, being elevated with wine, and not being able to conceal his hopes, telling the Macedonians, “ That they ought to offer
 “ up their prayers to the gods, to implore a lawful
 “ successor to Philip by this new wife;” Alexander,
 who

who was otherwise prone to anger, being provok'd by so gross an affront, reply'd, "What dost thou then make of me, wretch as thou art? am I a bastard?" and at the same time flung the glass which he had in his hand, in his face: Attalus flinging another at him. This occasioned a great disturbance, and Philip, who was not at the same table, being offended at the interruption of the mirth of the day, drew his sword, and had kill'd his son, if his anger, and the wine, and a lameness contracted from a former wound, had not hinder'd him, by causing him to fall down; which gave his friends (who were surpriz'd at the suddenness of the thing) time to interpose, and convey Alexander away.

Nor was it a matter of less difficulty to prevail with him to save himself. He thought he was injur'd many ways; and though they put him in mind of the terms of father, and king, and of the law of nature, and nations, yet he could not forbear insulting Philip, representing to the Macedonians, "What a fine leader they were like to have for the Asian expedition, since he could not go from one table to another without falling." After which, being in fear for his mother, he took her along with him, and left her in Epirus, where her brother reign'd, and went himself to the king of Illyricum. Being afterwards return'd to Macedonia, through the mediation of Demaratus the Corinthian, this perverse woman could not forbear prompting her son (who was of himself solicitous enough for power) "to make himself what friends he could by a winning carriage, and by money, and to fortify himself against his father's anger, by contracting an alliance with the men in authority." It is true, Philip himself had formerly counsell'd him to gain the affection of men, by his affability

affability and courteous behaviour ; but he no wife approv'd of his doing it by presents ; nay, he ever reprimanded him by letter, “ for daring to hope for
 “ the benevolence of those men whom he had corrupted by gifts ; telling him he was mistaken,
 “ who thought that became a king ; it being rather
 “ the business of a servant, or mean officer.

But as he would frequently brag, that all things were penetrable by money, and that he made use of it himself as often as of his arms, he did not seem to write that so much with an intention to instruct him in what was proper, as out of fear, lest the youth, his son, should make use of his own artifices against him. He also chid him for courting the daughter of Pexodorus, that his father intended for Aridæus, calling him degenerate, and unworthy the fortune his birth and education gave him hopes of ; who could covet for a father-in-law, a barbarous Carian, the subject of a barbarian king. Yet he himself had never slighted any match to confirm his power, but could marry Illyrian and Getic women, the roughest and unpolitest of all Barbarians, tho' he had at the same time a great many children by other wives and concubines ; which seeming to make Alexander somewhat uneasy, he took up his son with a gentle reproof ; and exhorted him,
 “ That since he was to have a great many rivals for
 “ the kingdom, he would take care to make himself
 “ more worthy and deserving than the rest, that he
 “ might not seem to be oblig'd to Philip his father
 “ for the crown, but to his own merit.

But as for this and the like causes, they frequently disagreed, and that friendship and benevolence being once broken, it was not easy to cement new affections again into a real fidelity ; so they fell to the last extremities. The violent temper of Olympias

was the chief spring of this mischief, whose haughty and imperious mind, prompted the contumacious stubbornness of the sex, with a masculine and unwarrantable thirst of revenge. She had us'd her endeavours to make her brother Alexander declare war against Philip: but the wise king, that he might not be necessitated to that at so unseasonable a time, tho' his power was superior, contriv'd to strengthen their friendship by a new alliance, giving Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to the Epirote for wife. All the petty princes of the neighbouring nations, and the ambassadors of the Greek states, met at Agæ to celebrate this marriage. Philip made choice of this place, not without some kind of omen, of what afterwards happen'd; for the Macedonian kings us'd to be bury'd there.

It is likewise reported that the Delphic oracle, when he consulted it, on the account of the Persian war, foretold his approaching death; but the prophecy of the oracle being ambiguously expressed as is usual, he flatter'd himself that it signify'd the destruction of the Barbarians. There were several other presages, that no body then took notice of, 'till the event made them plain. Among the king's guards, there was one nam'd Pausanias, whom the king, to comfort him for the affront he had receiv'd from Attalus, had promoted to that honour. For Attalus had expos'd him, being loaded with wine, to the detestable insults of the guests. Pausanias having apply'd himself to the king for revenge, in lieu thereof receiv'd this honour. Philip was so far from being able to resolve on the punishment of a man of that known fortitude in war, and whom he had united to himself lately by a near alliance, that he gave him the command of part of his troops with Parmenio and Amyntas, and sent him into Asia, designing to
make

make use of him in the Persian expedition ; and therefore desir'd Pausanias that he would for his sake, and the public good, put up the affront ; endeavouring by fair words, and a better salary, to appease and pacify him. But the young man, having a greater regard to the injury, than to the favours he receiv'd, turn'd the aversion he had for the author of the affront, on him that refus'd to avenge it.

It was thought he had consulted with those who were enemies to Attalus's family, and were at variance with Philip ; but no body doubted of it, when it came to be known, that Olympias had plac'd a crown of gold on the head of the parricide, as he hung upon the cross. There were several other base actions committed, by which the whole contrivance and cause of the villainy came to light. By break of day the theatre was crowded with the multitude that came thither to behold the public shews, which it was said, would very much exceed in expence and magnificence those of the preceeding days. Among other things, in which wealthy kings, and such as are not capable of the greatness of their fortune, are us'd to sport and squander away their riches, there were the effigies of the twelve deities so exquisitely wrought, that the art of the workmen seem'd to vie with the excellency of the materials. There was a thirteenth that represented Philip, in nothing inferior to the rest.

This contempt of his mortal condition was quickly revenged ; and he, whom success had rendered so insolent as to equal himself to the immortal Gods, was prevented by fate, from enjoying an honour that no way belong'd to him. For Pausanias having watch'd him as he was going into the theatre alone, (he having sent before those that attended him, and order'd his guards to stay behind, designing to shew, that

that he was so generally belov'd, as to have no occasion for them) the murtherer assaulted him on the sudden, and plung'd a sword of the Barbarian make, which he conceal'd under his cloaths, into his body, while he suspected no such attempt.

Such was the end of the greatest king of his time. He had mightily improv'd the state of Macedon, making it, of a poor and inconsiderable, both a great and flourishing kingdom. He had conquer'd the neighbouring Barbarians, enslav'd all Greece, and was preparing to reduce the Persian empire. The Greek auxiliaries were gathering together, he had already sent several generals before him into Asia, was on the very point of executing his designs (promising to himself great and durable advantages from the victory) when he unexpectedly lost his life.

Thus we see how the greatest things are frail and uncertain; the smallest unforeseen accident being able to disappoint the boldest hopes of mortals.

Olympias being inform'd of the king's death, forc'd Cleopatra, Attalus's neice, to hang herself: and barbarously murder'd the child which she had by Philip, born a few days before his death, roasting it in a brazen vessel. Not content with this, she made all her relations and dependents feel the rage with which she was transported; and very cruelly laid hold of this opportunity to gratify her implacable female revenge.

While these things were doing, Alexander, like a benevolent planet, reasonable appear'd to compose and calm so furious a tempest. The Greeks, whom Philip had oppress'd, began already to conceive some hopes of their liberty; the neighbouring Barbarians began to be troublesome, and the affairs of Macedon itself were in some confusion. Attalus, who was at the head of no contemptible army, by a dextrous and insinuating

insinuating use of his power, had procur'd to himself a great esteem among the soldiery ; and besides his being related to the principal men of Macedon, had engag'd to marry the sister of Philotas : and there was no relying on him, who had been both hated and offended by Alexander and his mother. Amyntas, who was son to Perdiccas, Philip's brother, and whom Philip had chosen for his son-in-law, giving him Cyna in marriage, aspir'd to the succession of his father's kingdom, by the murder of Alexander. A great part of the people, out of an aversion to the tyranny of Olympias, and others out of a desire of novelty, were variously inclin'd to the one or the other ; and some again did not scruple to say, the crown (that Amyntas first, and Philip afterwards, had by force and fraud usurp'd from the lawful heir) ought to be restor'd to Alexander the son of Æropus.

The army likewise being compos'd of different nations, disagreed both in their councils and discourses, according to the inclination and hopes of each party. On the other side, Alexander was new in his government, and Philip's sudden death had not given him time to make any provision against these impending commotions ; and although he appear'd very promising and hopeful, yet they despis'd his youth. They could not imagine that a young prince of twenty years of age, could take upon him so great a weight ; or if he did, they could not believe he would be able to support it. Moreover, the nerve of great actions, money, was wanting ; and the Persians abounding with that, had dispatch'd emissaries all over Greece to corrupt the people. And that nothing might be wanting to these evils, the Tuscan pirates infested and plunder'd the maritime places of Macedonia. Alexander having therefore assembled his

his friends, and the present state of affairs being laid before them, some were of opinion, “ That omit-
“ ting all concern for Greece, he should endeavour
“ by soft and gentle usage to keep the Barbarians
“ in their duty; the intestine motions being once
“ compos’d and quieted, he might with more ease
“ apply himself to the settling those at a greater
“ distance.”

But the young prince’s magnanimity was such, as made him look upon these cautious counsels as cowardly, and therefore disdain’d them. He told them, “ he should be for ever expos’d to the contempt
“ of all the world, if in the beginning of his reign
“ he suffer’d himself to be despis’d; that the opi-
“ nion he rais’d of himself at his entering upon the
“ government, would influence the whole course of
“ his life. That the death of Philip was no less
“ unexpected to the rebels, than to himself; that
“ therefore while they were yet in a hurry and con-
“ fusion, and unresolv’d what measures to take, they
“ might easily be suppress’d; whereas the delay of
“ the Macedonians would be an encouragement to
“ the authors of the sedition, and those that were
“ still wavering would have time to join the male-
“ contents; by which means the danger would be-
“ come greater, and the success more doubtful, a-
“ gainst a prepar’d and confirm’d enemy. But now
it was not so much the business of strength, as
who should be most expeditious, and prevent the
other. That if he shew’d himself to be afraid
of them while single, and as yet disunited, what
would become of him, when after such signs of
timidity, they should with their united forces fall
all at once upon him?” Having therefore made
speech to the people to the same purpose; he added,
C “ That

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“ That he would take care, that both his subjects
 “ and enemies should acknowledge, that by his fa-
 “ ther's death, the name and person only of the
 “ king was chang'd; as for conduct and courage,
 “ they should find the want of neither. That not-
 “ withstanding some ill-minded people had taken this
 “ opportunity to make a disturbance, they should
 “ in a little time be punish'd according to their
 “ deserts, if the Macedonians would but lend him
 “ the same bravery and arms, they had with so
 “ much glory to themselves, and advantageous fruits
 “ of victory, assisted his father with for so many
 “ years: And that they might do this with the
 “ greater chearfulness and alacrity, he discharged
 “ them of all duties, except that of the war.”

Fortune seconded the king's counsel, and he ex-
 ecuting each particular, with no less vigour than he
 had spoke, every thing succeeded according to his
 wish; for he prevented Amyntas, having discovered
 his treasonable practices; and he took off Attalus
 by the means of Hecæus and Parmenio. Of all
 those that were said to have conspir'd against Philip,
 he only pardon'd Lyncistes, and that because he had
 attended him at his first entrance on the sovereignty,
 and was the first that saluted him as king: He put
 all the rest to death; being of opinion that he pro-
 vided for his own safety, by revenging Philip after
 so severe a manner; and that thereby he should stop
 the report, that represented him as privy to his fa-
 ther's death.

Their frequent falling out, had given some credit
 to that rumour; and Pausanias having made his com-
 plaint to him, he is said to have encouraged his
 wicked design, by a verse out of a tragedy, in
 which Medea not only threatens her rival with de-
 struction, but likewise him that gave her in mar-

riage, and him that took her. However; he afterwards in his answer to Darius's letter endeavour'd to cast the odium of that action on the Persians, saying, that Philip's murtherers had been corrupted with their gold. But that he might more effectually take away all suspicion of his having been concern'd in so foul an action, he was thinking a little before his death, to build a magnificent temple in honour of Philip. But that, as well as many other things that were found in his memorials, was neglected by his successors.

CHAP. XI. Judging therefore that his retaining the sovereignty of Greece, that Philip had acquir'd, would be of great moment to facilitate the execution of his designs, he march'd his army with the utmost expedition, and broke into Thessaly when no body had the least suspicion of his motions. Some of the Thessalians began to raise their spirits, and having possess'd themselves of the streights at Tempe, they block'd up the way that leads thither from Macedonia. These countries are separated by the celebrated mountains Olympus and Ossa, through whose valleys the river Peneus runs, and renders them delightful even to admiration, for which it is honour'd with publick sacrifices. It has on each side its current shady groves, where the little birds seem to join in a concert from the neighbouring trees, with the noisy fall of the waters. There is a narrow way that extends itself five miles in length, being hardly broad enough for a beast that is loaded, so that ten men are able to defend it against any number whatever. But he made his way through those rocks that were thought altogether impracticable, cutting the sides of mount Ossa into steps after the manner of winding stairs; and so terrify'd the people by his wonderful haste and expedition, that with-

out the least opposition, they decreed him the same tributes and revenues, together with the sovereignty of the nation, and on the same conditions Philip had enjoy'd them. He granted an immunity of all duties to Phthia, in consideration of its being the birth-place of Achilles, from whom his family deriv'd it self; and said, he made choice of that hero for his companion and fellow-soldier, in the war he was undertaking against the Persians.

From Thessaly he march'd to Thermopylæ, where the publick diet of Greece was held. They call it the Pylaic. There, in the publick assembly of states, he was created captain-general of the Greeks in the room of his father, by the appointment of the Amphietyones; he confirm'd the liberty of the Ambraclotæ, which they had recover'd a few days before, by driving out the Macedonian garison; assuring them that he should of his own motion have restor'd it to them, if they had not prevented his intention. From thence he advanc'd to Thebes with his army, and having overcome the obstinacy and stubbornness of the Boeotians and Athenians, who had most of all oppos'd his designs, he order'd all the Greek deputies to meet him at Corinth. There the decrees of the Amphietyones was confirm'd, and he was by the common consent of all, commissioned to be captain-general of Greece, in the place of Philip his father; and the aids and supplies were appointed for the Persian war. It happen'd that Diogenes liv'd in the same city, who having embrac'd a voluntary poverty, according to the institution of the Cynicks, preferr'd the liberty and freedom of his mind to riches and cares. He was sunning himself in the Craneum, which is one of the suburbs of Corinth, where there is a grove of cypress-trees. Alexander being desirous to see him, went thither, and having granted

granted him the liberty to ask him what favour he would, he bid the king "go a little aside, and not intercept the sun from him." The Macedonian much surprized at this unexpected reply, could not but admire the man, whom in that height of prosperity he had it not in his power to oblige, and said, "He should chuse to be Diogenes, if he were not Alexander." For that greatness of soul which made him look down (as it were from an eminence) on all those things, for whose sake the rest of mankind eagerly cast themselves away, did not escape the observation of the penetrating youth; yet being blinded with insatiable desires, he could not plainly discover, that it was much better to be without those riches which are superfluous, than to have those that are necessary.

From Peloponnesus he went to Delphi to consult Apollo concerning the event of the war he had in hand. But the virgin priestess who pronounc'd the destinies, or fatal decrees, having declar'd it to be unlawful to consult the deity for some days, he went to her himself, and taking hold of her, dragg'd her to the temple. As she was going along, reflecting within herself, that the custom of the country was overcome by the king's obstinacy: She cry'd out, "Thou art invincible, my son:" At which words he stopp'd her, saying, "He accepted the omen, and that there was no occasion for any farther oracle." These things being quickly dispatch'd, he return'd to his kingdom, and with the utmost assiduity, apply'd himself to the punishing those who had done any thing in contempt of the Macedonian majesty. Having by this time, got all things in readiness, he left Amphypolis in the beginning of the spring, and march'd against the free people of Thrace, and after ten encampments, arriv'd at mount

Hæmus. A great body of Thracians had possess'd themselves of the top of the mountain, with a design to hinder the king's passage: 'They had plac'd their chariots round their camp in the nature of an entrenchment, intending to drive them against the enemy, if they were attack'd. But Alexander having discover'd the cunning of the Barbarians, gave orders to his soldiers, That upon the chariots coming furiously against them, they should open to the right and left, and so let them pass by without doing any mischief; or if they had not time for that, they should fling themselves upon the ground, covering themselves with their bucklers, in the form of a Tortoise. Thus the enemy's stratagem became ineffectual, for a great part of the chariots passed through the lanes contriv'd for them; and those that fell among the men, driving over the bucklers, by the violence of their course, bounded over them, without having weight enough to crush those that were under them; so that this storm past over without doing any mischief. The Macedonians being deliver'd from this terror, with joyful acclamations gave the onset. The archers advancing from the right wing, gall'd the most forward of the Barbarians, with their frequent flights of arrows. So that the Phalanx or Macedonian foot, having gain'd the top of the mountain without danger, had no sooner got firm footing, but the victory ceas'd to be doubtful, they driving and dispersing the enemy, who was either naked or but slightly arm'd. But on the other side, that very thing that had expos'd the Barbarians during the engagement, help'd them very much in their flight: for not being loaded with arms, they easily made their escape, being well acquainted with the country. Thus about fifteen hundred of them being kill'd, the rest sav'd themselves. A great number of women and children

children were taken; and considering the condition of the country, the conqueror had a considerable booty.

Having after this manner open'd himself a passage through mount Hæmus, he penetrated into the very heart of the country of Thrace. Among these people there is a wood, consecrated to Bacchus, which they have a long time held in great veneration: Here, as Alexander was sacrificing after the custom of the Barbarians, there arose such a flame from the wine he pour'd on the altar, as spread above the roof of the temple, and seem'd aspiring to the very heavens. From hence, all that were present inferr'd, that the king's glory was to have no other bounds. Upon the neck of this, another accident happen'd, that confirm'd the truth of this conjecture. In the country of the Odrysæ, who are a people of Thrace, there is a mountain call'd Libethrus, and a city of the same name, famous for being the place where Orpheus was born: The king was inform'd, by those that pretended to have been eye-witnesses to the thing, that his sacred statue that was made of cypreis-wood, had sweat most plentifully. Every body being solicitous for the event, Aristander remov'd their fear, assuring them, that it referr'd to Alexander's exploits, which should make the poets and the muses sons toil and sweat, in their compositions singing of those exploits.

The Triballi are a brave people that inhabit the country that lies beyond mount Hæmus. Alexander marching against them, Syrmus their king (being inform'd before-hand of the Macedonian expedition) had fled to Peuce, an island form'd by the Ister; there he defended himself, with the rest of what was weak, either by reason of sex or age, the river

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serving

serving him as a fortification, Alexander having but few ships. The bank of the river being high and steep, and therefore of difficult ascent, it was easily defended by a vigilant and brave enemy. The Macedonians were therefore forc'd to retire without doing any thing, and be contented with the advantages they had gain'd some days before; for in their way hither, they had attack'd another army of the Triballi, and with the loss of hardly fifty men, had kill'd three thousand of the enemy.

CHAP. XII. Having in vain attempted to force king Syrmus, he turn'd the fury of his arms against the Getæ, who had, on the other side of the river, drawn up in order of battle four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. He enter'd upon this dangerous undertaking, not so much on the account of its usefulness, with reference to the war, as out of a desire of fame; that he might be able to boast, that (notwithstanding the opposition of the fiercest nations) he had forc'd his passage over the largest river in Europe: Having therefore shipp'd off as many of the cavalry as he could conveniently, he convey'd part of his infantry over in little boats, (of which there was a great number) and the rest upon skins, contriv'd for that purpose. The Getæ, being struck with terror, at the sudden and unexpected attack of the Macedonians, (for the night, and the corn that grew very thick on the bank of the river, had favour'd their passage) hardly bore the first charge of the cavalry. But Nicanor was no sooner come up with the Phalanx, or Macedonian foot, than they, with the greatest precipitancy and confusion, took to their heels, making the best of their way to a town four miles distant from the river; and upon Alexander's pursuing them closely, they carry'd off their wives and their children, and whatever else they could

could load their horses with, and abandon'd the rest to the conqueror.

Alexander committed this booty to the care of Meleager and Philip ; and having demolish'd the town, and erected altars to Jupiter and Hercules, and to the Ister, on the bank thereof, for his prosperous passage, over that river, he retir'd the same day with his army, having obtained a victory without bloodshed. Hereupon, ambassadors came to him from the neighbouring people, as also from king Syrmus, with presents of such things as were in esteem among them. The Germans too, that inhabit all that tract of ground that lies between the head of the Ister and the Adriatic gulf, sent their ambassadors to him ; for the Ister has its rise in Germany, and in the language of the country, is called the Danube. He admiring the largeness of their bodies, and sprightliness of their mind, ask'd them, " What of all
" things they most dreaded and fear'd ? thinking with himself, that they were apprehensive of his power, and that he should extort such a confession from them : but they, instead thereof, reply'd,
" That they were not much afraid of any thing,
" unless it were, lest the heavens should fall upon
" them ; tho' at the same time, they had a value
" for the friendship of brave men." Being surpriz'd at so unexpected an answer, he remain'd silent for some time, and then broke out in this expression,
" That the Germans were a haughty and arrogant
" people." However, as they desir'd, he contracted an alliance with them, and granted peace to Syrmus and the rest ; and thinking he had gain'd honour enough by that expedition he turn'd his mind to the Persian war, from which he propos'd to himself greater advantages, with less hazard and danger. It is said, his uncle afterwards upbraided him with that

notion, when he found the difficulties he had to struggle with in the Italian war; for, complaining of the inequality of their lot, he said, “ He had
 “ to do with men, whereas the Macedonian made
 “ war against women.

Alexander therefore taking along with him the little princes of Thrace, and all those who by reason of their wealth or courage were likely to cause any innovation in his absence, under the pretence of doing them honour, by chusing them for his companions in the Persian war; he by this means took away the heads of the faction, who would not dare to attempt any thing without their leaders.

As he was returning to Macedonia by the Agrians and Pæonians, news was brought him of the commotions in Illyricum. A certain collier, whose name was Bardylis, had advanced himself to the dignity of king over several people in those parts, and was become a troublesome enemy to Macedonia itself, till Philip overcame him in a great battle; however, he having made a shift to renew the war, Philip gave him a total overthrow, and made him become his vassal. This Bardylis was now dead, having liv'd to be fourscore and ten years of age: his son Clitus thinking it a proper time to recover his liberty, while Alexander's arms were employed against the powerful nations beyond the Ister, he prevail'd with the people to revolt, making an alliance with Glaucias king of those people of Illyricum, they call Taulantii: the Autariatæ were likewise to fall upon the Macedonians as they were on their march. But Langarus king of the Agrians adher'd firmly to Alexander's interest, and begg'd “ he would commit the
 “ care of that people to him; assuring him he would
 “ find them so much employment at home, that
 “ they should no longer think of disturbing the Ma-
 “ cedonians.

“cedonians, but how to defend their own.” The king having mightily commended the young prince, and honour’d him with magnificent and noble presents, dismiss’d him, promising him his sister Cyna in marriage, whom his father had had by an Illyrian woman, and had marry’d to Amyntas. The Agrian was as good as his word, but falling sick he was prevented by death from receiving the reward that was promised him for his services. The Autariatæ being thus reduced, without any engagement, Alexander arriv’d at Pelium (a town in Deffaretia, situate on the river Eordaicus.) ’Tis true, they made a shew as if they desir’d to come to action, marching out of their fortresses with great fury, but yet they retir’d before the fight could begin, notwithstanding they had possess’d themselves of all the advantageous posts which were full of difficulty, by reason of the woods and narrow ways. Here the Macedonians beheld a dismal spectacle, three boys, three girls, and three black rams lying together in a confus’d slaughter; the Barbarians having out of a cruel superstition sacrific’d them to their gods, to inspire them with courage in the engagement: but the incens’d deity reveng’d the impiety on their guilty souls, by giving them cowardice, instead of courage.

The king having driven them within their own fortifications, had resolv’d to block them up in them, by an outward wall he intended to raise, when the next day Glaucias arriv’d with a great body of the Tau’antii: so that laying aside all hopes of taking the town, he began to think of making a safe retreat. In the mean time, Philotas being sent out to forage with the cattle that bore the baggage, under convoy of horse, Alexander was informed his men were in danger; for Glaucias had possess’d himself of all the hills and eminences round the plain, watching all

opportunities to come to an engagement. Alexander therefore leaving part of the army in the camp, to prevent any sallies from the town, march'd in all diligence with the rest of the troops to their assistance, by which means having terrify'd the Illyrians, he brought the foragers safe back to the camp. However, his march was like to be attended with many dangers and difficulties ; for on one hand, the river, and on the other, the steep and craggy hills, so straiten'd the way, that in several places four men arm'd could hardly march a-breast ; and Clitus and Glaucias had posted on the tops of the hills, several companies of archers and slingers, and a considerable detachment of heavy-arm'd soldiers. This made Alexander place two hundred horse before the right, and as many before the left of the phalanx, commanding them “ to hold up their spears, and on the “ signal given, to present them to the enemy, as “ if they were going to charge them, turning them- “ selves sometimes to the right, and sometimes to “ the left.” By this stratagem he kept the enemy in suspense ; and having divided his phalanx, that hastily advanced, and afterward re-united it again into one corps, he at last drew it up in the form of a wedge, and fell furiously on the Illyrian forces, who being amaz'd at the readiness and skill of the Macedonians, fled hastily towards the town. There remain'd but few on the top of the mountain that the Macedonian troops had already pass'd ; so that having dislodg'd them, he with two thousand Agrians and the archers took possession of the post, intending to cover and facilitate the passage of the phalanx over the river : the enemy having observed this, march'd with their whole army towards the mountains, that those that were compleatly arm'd, having gain'd the other side of river, they might at-
tack

tack the rear, where the king himself was in person. But the king receiv'd them with an undaunted courage, and the phalanx huzzaing at the same time, as if they design'd to repass the river to succour their fellow-soldiers, struck a terror into the enemy. For the king judging how things would happen, had order'd his troops to draw up in order of battle, as soon as they were landed on the other side, and to extend their left (which was nearest the river, and the enemy) as far as they could, that they might make the greater appearance. By which stratagem the Taulantii, imagining the whole army was ready to fall upon them, retir'd a little. Alexander therefore taking this opportunity, march'd in all haste to the river, where being arriv'd, he pass'd it over with the first body ; and as the enemy harrafs'd very much those that brought up the rear, he so dispos'd his machines on the bank, and play'd so furiously on the enemy from them, that he forc'd them to give back. They that were already enter'd the river, plying them at the same time with their darts and arrows. By this means he march'd off quietly, without the loss of one man. Three days after, he was inform'd, that the enemy imagined he was fled through fear, and looking on themselves to be out of all danger, straggled up and down without order, having neither breast-work nor trench before their camp, nor so much as guards or centinels : taking therefore with him the archers and Agrians, and that body of Macedonians that Perdiccas and Cænos commanded, he pass'd the river in the night, and march'd towards them with the utmost diligence, commanding the rest of the army to follow him. But being apprehensive he should let slip the opportunity, if he waited till that came up, he sent before him the light-arm'd soldiers, then falling himself with the rest upon the enemy,

enemy, that was half asleep, and without arms, he made a great slaughter of them, took a good number prisoners, and put the rest to flight, pursuing them as far as the mountains of the Taulantii. Clitus, in so great a consternation, first went to Pelium ; but afterwards either distrusting the fortifications of the place, or the courage of his men, setting fire to the town, he went and liv'd in exile among the Taulantii.

CHAP. XIII. About this time a rumour was spread all over Greece that Alexander was kill'd by the Triballi, which fill'd the enemies of the Macedonian interest with great hopes of some revolution. And indeed it may be reckon'd none of the least misfortunes in human affairs, that how inconsiderable soever the authority is, we are apt to believe those things we wish for, with as much confidence and assurance, as if an obstinate and ill-grounded opinion was able to bear down even truth itself.

Nay, there was one went so far as to affirm, that he saw the king surrounded ; and that they might the less doubt of the truth hereof, he assur'd them, he had himself receiv'd a wound in that action. This being easily credited, and spread up and down, was the occasion of the greatest calamities to the Thebans. For some of them that Philip had banish'd, being animated and encouraged by it, did, under the conduct of Phænix and Prothytes, basely murder the officers of the Macedonians, that kept garrison in the Cadmea, as they were walk'd out of that citadel, not having the least suspicion of any treachery ; and the citizens flocking together on the specious and plausible account of delivering their country from oppression, besieg'd the garrison, surrounding it with a double rampart and ditch, to prevent their receiving either provisions or succour.

This

This done, they sent ambassadors to all the Greek towns, to entreat them that they would not refuse their assistance to those who were so generously endeavouring to recover the liberty they had been so unworthily depriv'd of. Demosthenes too, out of an ancient pique to the Macedonians, mov'd the Athenians to send speedy succours to them : they were not however sent, because they were so surpriz'd at the unexpected arrival of Alexander, that they thought it advisable to see first which way fortune was inclin'd. Demosthenes nevertheless sent the Thebans what private assistance he could, supplying them with a great quantity of arms at his own expence ; by the help whereof, they who had by Philip been depriv'd of their own, straiten'd the garrison of Cadmea very much.

There was also a strong body of Peloponnesians got together at the Isthmus, to whom Antipater (who was governor of Macedonia in the king's absence) having dispatch'd messengers, requiring them not to join with Alexander's profess'd enemies, in violation of the general decree of all Greece ; they, notwithstanding, gave audience to the Theban ambassadors. The generality of the soldiers seem'd to be mov'd with compassion ; but Altylus their leader, who was an Arcadian by extraction, spun out the time in delays ; not so much out of any apprehension he had, from the difficulty of the undertaking, as out of an avaricious temper ; hoping, that their pressing necessities requiring a speedy succour, he should obtain from them a larger salary. He demanded ten talents, but the Thebans not being able to make them up, those of the Macedonian party offer'd him that sum to be quiet. Thus the Thebans were frustrated of their hopes of any assistance from the Arcadians. However, Demosthenes with
a sum

a sum of money prevented some other troops of Peloponnesus from taking up arms against the Thebans; for he is said to have receiv'd three hundred talents from the Persians in order to embarrass Alexander's affairs as much as he could. Alexander receiving advice hereof, march'd his army with all possible expedition along Eordæa and Elymiotis, and the rocks Stymphæa and Paryeæ, and the seventh day after he set out from Pelium, he arrived at Pellenæ a town in Theffaly. In six days more he reach'd Bœotia, marching to Onchestus, which is about six miles distant from Thebes. In the mean time the Thebans acted with greater courage than prudence, as being entirely ignorant of the enemies transactions. They did not believe the Macedonian army had yet pass'd the Pylæ; and as for the king's coming in person, they were so far from giving credit to it, that they did not scruple to assert it was another Alexander, the son of Æropus that now headed the army.

The king having pitch'd his camp near the temple of Iolaus, before the gate Prætis, was resolv'd to give them leisure to repent: but they, instead thereof, made a sally, and fell upon the out-guards of the Macedonians, killing some, and driving the rest from their post, and were got pretty near the camp, when the king order'd the light-arm'd troops to drive them back. The next day the king advanc'd his army to the gates that lead towards Attica, that he might be ready at hand to succour those that were shut up in the citadel, still expecting their last resolution; and giving them to understand he was yet dispos'd to pardon them, if they did but repent of their error. But they that were inclin'd to peace, were over-ru'd by the power of the exiles, and the interest of those who had recalled them.

them; for they being sensible there was no hopes of safety for them, if the Macedonians became masters of the town, chose rather to be bury'd in the ruins of their country, than to purchase its safety with their own destruction.

They had also prevail'd with some of the princes of Bœotia to come into their measures: but to what degree of folly and madness they were arriv'd, will from hence appear; that when Alexander requir'd they would deliver up to him, the authors of the rebellion, assuring them, that two heads should expiate the crime of the whole city; they were so bold as to demand on their part, that Alexander would surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, two of the greatest favourites the king had; and at the same time caus'd a herald to make proclamation, “ That
“ if any were willing to join with the great king
“ (meaning the king of Persia) and the Thebans,
“ against the tyrant, for the recovery of the liberty
“ of Greece, they might repair to Thebes, as to a
“ place of safety.

All this notwithstanding, Alexander did not give orders for the storming of the town; but, as Ptolemy relates (though there are some that give another account) Perdiccas (who commanded that part of the army that fac'd the works the enemy had cast up, in order to block up the Cadmean fort) fell furiously upon them without expecting the signal; so that having forc'd the works, he came to a close engagement with them. Amyntas (who lay next to him) charg'd them at the same time with the troops under his command, being encourag'd by his example; all which Alexander observing, and fearing the ill success of his men, approach'd with the main body of the army; and having commanded the light-arm'd troops to break through and succour
their

their companions, he remained with the rest before the trenches.

The fight was obstinate, and Perdiccas (being desperately wounded, as he was labouring to force the inward retrenchment) was carry'd off from the place of action ; a great many of the Cretan archers, with their leader Eurybotas, were destroy'd. The Thebans press'd hard upon the Macedonians, (who in their fright gave way) and pursu'd them as they retir'd to Alexander. Whereupon the king having drawn up the phalanx in order of battle, fell upon the enemy, whose troops were in confusion and disorder, and routed them.

It was here that fortune shifting the scene, the Thebans were put into such a consternation, that they had not presence of mind enough to shut the gates after them, through which they enter'd the town. The garrison of the Cadmea falling out at the same time into the streets that lay next the citadel, produc'd such a happy effect, that the noblest city in all Greece was taken the very same day it was attack'd. There was no instance of cruelty omitted in the destruction of this unhappy place ; men and women were promiscuously slaughter'd, nor did weakness and childhood find compassion.

This inhuman barbarity was chiefly owing to the Phocenses, Plataenses, the Orchomenii, and the Thespienses, to whom the prosperity and wealth of Thebes had been, by reason of its vicinity, very pernicious and prejudicial. As for the Macedonians, they kept themselves within the bounds of the laws of war.

Orders were at last given to abstain from any farther slaughter, there having perish'd already six thousand men, the rest were made prisoners, of whom

whom thirty thousand free persons were sold. Clitarchus says, that the whole booty amounted to four hundred and forty talents : others will have it, that the very captives were sold for that sum. The Thesſalians were indebted to the Thebans in a hundred talents ; which ſum Alexander forgave them, as being his allies. Some few, who were known to have been againſt the war, eſcap'd captivity, as alſo the prieſts, and thoſe with whom the king or his father had us'd to reſide when in that town ; among the reſt, Timoclea receiv'd as a reward of her noble and manly behaviour, not only her liberty, but likewiſe the honour of having her fame celebrated to poſterity.

A certain Thracian, who was a captain of horſe in Alexander's ſervice, having offer'd violence to this woman, in a threatening manner aſk'd her where ſhe had hid her moſt valuable effects ? She being more afflicted at the loſs of her honour, than concern'd for her riches, turn'd the covetouſneſs of the barbarian into an opportunity of revenge ; and pointed to a well, ſhe pretended ſhe had ſecur'd therein her jewels, and other things of value ; he preſently went thither, and as he was with a greedy curioſity looking down the well, ſhe tripp'd up his heels, and puſh'd him into it, and flinging ſtones upon him, kill'd him ; labouring in vain to get out of it, it being very deep and narrow. His men ſeiz'd her, and brought her before Alexander, that ſhe might be duly puniſh'd, for having kill'd their officer. The king having aſk'd her who ſhe was, and what ſhe was brought before him for ? ſhe, with an undaunted countenance and voice, reply'd, “ That ſhe was the
“ ſiſter of that Theagenes who commanded the The-
“ bans, and loſt his life for the liberty of Greece.
“ I have reveng'd the affront that was offer'd me,
“ by

“ by killing the ravisher of my honour. If you
 “ command me to suffer death by way of attonement, know, that to a virtuous woman, there
 “ is nothing so despicable as life, after her chastity
 “ has been violated; let me then perish as soon as
 “ you please, I shall still die too late, since I am so
 “ unhappy as to have out-liv’d my reputation and
 “ country.” Alexander having with attention heard her, declared the Thracian deservedly kill’d; and that he neither approv’d nor allow’d of rapes to be committed on gentlewomen, and those that were free-born: having therefore spoke much in her commendation, he gave her her liberty, and on her account, to all her kindred, with the privilege of departing to what place they pleas’d: he also pardon’d Pindar’s posterity, out of respect to that poet, who had made mention in his poems, of king Alexander, who was his great-grand-father, and gave orders that his house should not be burnt. For he not only lov’d the virtue of his own days, but also had a veneration for the memory of great men, heaping favours on their posterity. For afterwards having, in the last action against Darius, overcome that prince, he sent part of the booty to the Crotoniates, in consideration, that in Xerxes’s war, when all the rest of the Greek colonies despair’d of Greece, they had sent one galley to Salamis, under the command of Phayllus. He likewise bestow’d several honours and gifts on the Plataeans, because their ancestors had given their territory to those Greeks that fought against Mar-donius.

CHAP. XIV. The destruction of Thebes was preceded by several strange and wonderful appearances. About three months before Alexander’s coming before Thebes, was observ’d in the temple of Ceres, call’d

call'd Thesmophoros, a black cobweb, which had appear'd white about the time of the Leuctrian fight, by which Thebes attain'd to its highest point of glory and prosperity; and a little before the arrival of the Macedonians, the statues in the Forum were seen to sweat, and dismal cries were heard from the Lake near Onchestus, which, together with the fountain Dirce's issuing great streams of blood, instead of water, might have terrify'd these obstinate people, if their pride had not predestin'd them to their ruin. For looking back on the glory of their ancestors, whose manners they had altogether forsaken, they promis'd themselves the same good fortune and success, without having the same virtue and merit, and so hasten'd on their destiny; for they were so foolishly rash, as with an army of little more than ten thousand, to make head against thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, all veteran victorious troops.

Alexander having made himself master of the place, call'd a council of his allies and friends, and refer'd it to them, to consider what use should be made of it. There were amongst them Phocians, and a great many Bœotians, whose ancient discords with the Thebans had been very detrimental to them. These could not think themselves either sufficiently reveng'd, or their safety duly provided for, if Thebes should be left standing; wherefore their authority prevail'd, that the walls and edifices should be demolish'd, and the territory belonging to it should be divided among the conquerors, at the pleasure of the king. Thus one day took from the very middle of Greece this noble city, that could boast of not only having produc'd great men, but even gods, after it had for almost eight hundred years from the

the oracle of the ravens, been inhabited by the same people.

For the Bœotians having been formerly driven out of their country by the Thracians and Pelagians, they were told by the oracle, “ That after four ages
“ they should recover their paternal habitations, that
“ in the mean time they should settle themselves
“ where they should behold white ravens.” Being therefore come to Arne, a town in Thessaly, and seeing some crows that the children had whiten’d over with parget, they settled there. The town was demolish’d at the sound of the flute, in the same manner as Lyfander had threescore years before demolish’d Athens. However, Alexander gave orders to abstain from the temples and other sacred buildings, being solicitous, lest thro’ want of care, they might also be damnify’d; being inclin’d to it (besides his own natural veneration for the gods) by the sad example that had been made of some soldiers, who attempted to pillage the temple of the Cabiri that stood before the town; who, while they were employ’d in this prophane and impious work, were consum’d by a sudden storm of thunder and lightning. The images and the statues of the Gods, as well as those of men renown’d for their virtue, were also left untouch’d in the publick places where they stood; and it is recorded, that in the consternation and fright people were in, upon the taking and plundering the city, some had hid their gold in the folds and plaits of the garments of those statues, and found it safe, when Callander, Antipater’s son, twenty years after, rebuilt the town; which he is thought to have done, not so much out of compassion to the exiles, as out of hatred to Alexander, thinking to lessen his glory by that action. But notwithstanding he restor’d the former compass of its walls, yet he could not

restore its ancient manners and prosperity; so that it never could recover its primitive strength, but being frequently afflicted with calamities, it has with difficulty preserv'd to our days the appearance of a small inconsiderable town. It is said that Alexander afterwards repented what he had done, when he reflected, that by the destruction of Thebes, he had put out one of the eyes of Greece: It is certain, he look'd upon the death of Clitus, and the obstinacy of the Macedonians, who cowardly refus'd to penetrate any farther into the Indies, as a vindictive judgment of Bacchus upon him, for having ruin'd and destroy'd the place of his birth; nay, some did not scruple to say, that the king's death that proceeded from an excess of wine, was also a punishment inflicted on him by the resentments of that deity.

These things being finish'd, he sent to Athens, to let the people know, " That he requir'd they would
" deliver up to him those orators, that were perpetually stirring them up against the Macedonians;
" and that if they were unwilling to part with them,
" they must expect the same reward of their contumacy; as they might view in a late instance of the
" miseries of the Thebans." Upon this, Phocion, (who was in great esteem with the people, on the account of the integrity of his life) representing,
" That it was not advisable to irritate and provoke
" the mind of the young victorious king;" and exhorting those whom the danger particularly threatened, " That in imitation of the daughters of Leus
" and Hyacinthus, they would not scruple to lay
" down their lives for the good of their country:" Demosthenes, who was by name demanded, now rose up, and inform'd them, " That the Athenians were
" mistaken, if they imagin'd, that by the surrender
" of

“ of a few, they should procure safety to them-
 “ selves; that on the contrary, the Macedonians
 “ cunningly requir'd those persons from them, whose
 “ vigilance and virtue they most suspected and hated;
 “ and that having remov'd the patrons and protectors
 “ of the publick liberty, they would afterward fall
 “ upon the defenceless and destitute city, as wolves
 “ do upon the sheep, when their guardian dogs are
 “ remov'd.

Demosthenes had shewn himself a bitter enemy of
 the Macedonians, and therefore very reasonably con-
 cluded, there was not the least room left him to hope
 for mercy. For Philip being kill'd, he mov'd the
 Athenians to build a chapel in honour of Pausanias;
 that publick thanksgivings might be made in the tem-
 ples of the gods, and that all the other usual marks
 of great joy might be express'd; calling Alexander
 sometimes a child, and sometimes a Margites; a
 word of contempt, that meant his prodigious folly
 and madness. And being corrupted by the Persian
 gold, he had been the incendiary and promoter of al-
 most all the wars the Greeks had made with Alexan-
 der, and Philip his father.

He had beside excited Attalus (who was Alexan-
 der's bitterest enemy) to declare open war against
 the king, promising him the alliance of the Athe-
 nians. And the Athenians had not offended a little,
 having cast down Philip's statues, and converted the
 materials to the most scandalous uses; committing
 besides all the other indignities the ignorant rabble
 (who have no concern for the future) are apt to be
 guilty of, when instigated by the direction and ma-
 nagement of a few. But of all their transgression,
 none offended the king so much, as the humanity
 and compassion they express'd for the Thebans;
 whom they had contrary to his edict receiv'd, when
 they

they made their escape from the ruins of their country; shewing so great a concern for their misfortunes, as to put off the solemnity of the mysteries they were wont to celebrate with the greatest devotion every year in honour of Bacchus, merely on the account of this publick calamity. But out of his strong inclination to the Persian war, he chose rather to forgive the Greeks their injuries, than to punish them.

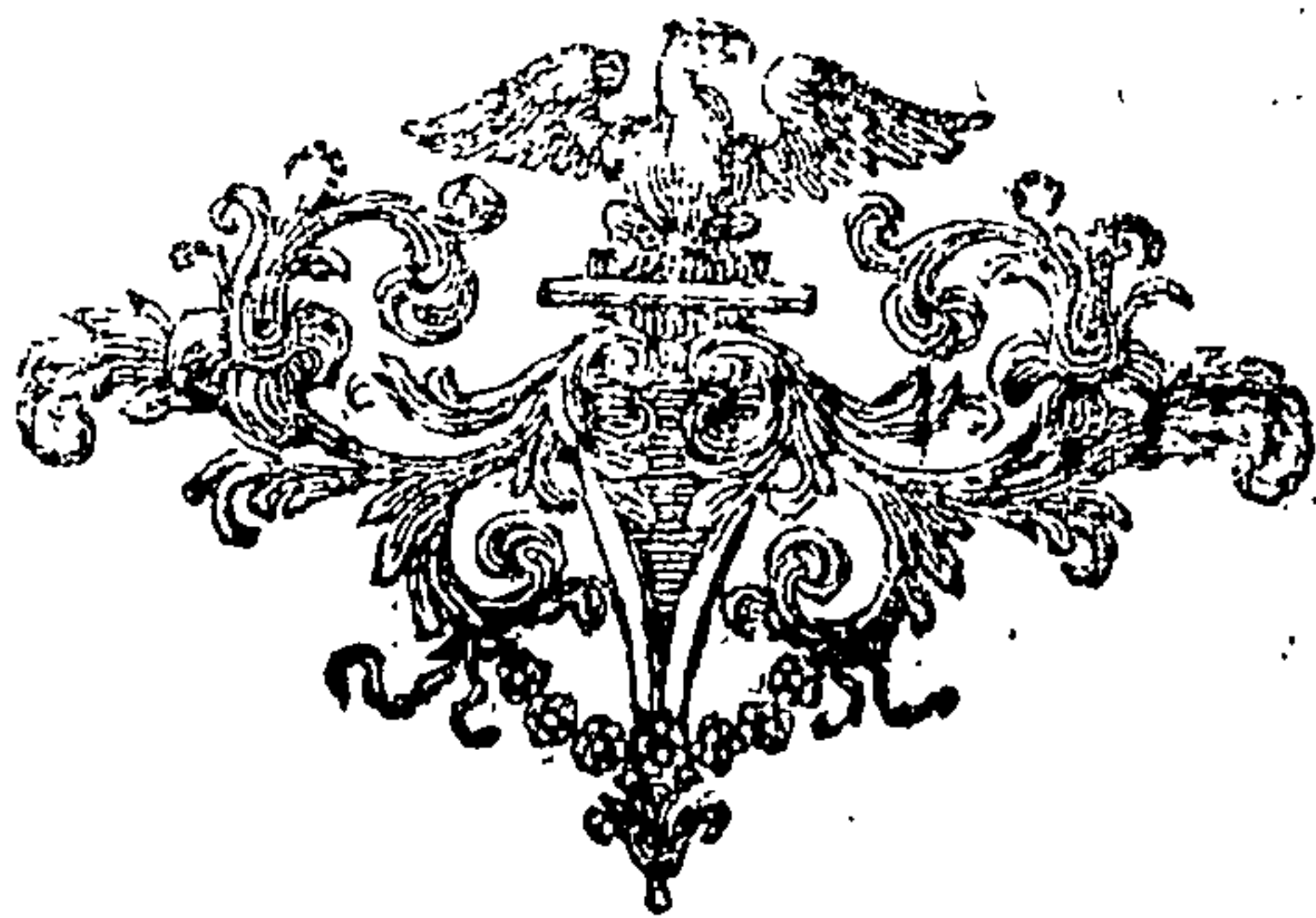
Wherefore Demades (who had been in great favour with Philip) having presented to him the humble intercessions of the city, he granted to the Athenians, that they should keep Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and the others he had requir'd of them, provided they did but banish Charidemus. Hereupon Charidemus went over to the Persians, and did them great service; till giving his tongue too great a liberty, he was kill'd by Darius's order. Many other considerable persons, out of hatred to the king, left the city, and repair'd to his enemies, and gave the Macedonians a great deal of trouble. After so great a tide of success, there was no power left in Greece; that reflecting on the overthrow of the Thebans, (whose heavy-arm'd soldiers were formerly in great esteem) or on the taking of Leucadia, could repose any confidence, either in their own strength, or that of any fortifications; for he reduc'd the Leucadians (who were elated and arrogant, on the account of the strong situation of their town, and the great quantity of stores and provisions they had laid in for a long siege) by famine; first making himself master of all the forts and castles round it, and giving to those he found therein, liberty to go into Leucadia; by which means the people daily increasing in multitude, soon emptied their magazines.

Ambassadors, were therefore sent him from Peloponnesus, to congratulate him on his having, according to his desire, finish'd the war against the Barbarians, and chastis'd the insolence and temerity of some of the Greeks.

The Arcadians, who had been in motion, preparing to assist the Thebans, gave him to understand they had pass'd sentence of death on those leaders who had been the cause of their extravagant proceedings. The Elei acquainted him likewise that they recall'd those they had banish'd, out of this consideration only, that Alexander had a kindness for them: and the Ætoli excus'd themselves, that in so general a disturbance of Greece, they had not been free from some evil practices. The Megareans caus'd the king and those about him to laugh, by the new kind of honour they pretended to confer upon him; telling him, "That in consideration of his good disposition
 " and favours to the Greeks, the Megareans had by
 " a decree of the people, made him free of their
 " city. But being afterwards inform'd, that to that very day they had not bestow'd that honour on any except Hercules, he graciously accepted of it. To the others he made answer, "That he had nothing
 " more at heart than the quiet and safety of Greece;
 " and that provided they refrain'd making any disturbance for the time to come, he readily forgave them what was past." However, he very much distrusted the Spartans, and therefore restor'd the sons of Philiades to Messene, from whence they had been driven; he gave also to Chæron the government of Pelene, a town belonging to the Achæans, and put Sicyon and other towns of Peloponnesus into the hands of his friends and dependents, that they might have an eye upon the counsels and deportment of the Lacedæmonians.

A few

A few months suffic'd him for the performance of so many great and weighty things ; in which he put an end to so difficult and doubtful a war, with more ease than another could in that time have been prepared for it. He acknowledged he ow'd his conquest to expedition and celerity ; telling one that ask'd him by what means he chiefly subdu'd Greece, " That it " was by delaying nothing.



D a

T H E



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
JOHN FREINSHEMIUS'S
SUPPLEMENT
TO
QUINTUS CURTIUS.



CHAP. I.

DARIUS was king of Persia at that time; having been rais'd to that dignity by the interest of Bagoas the eunuch, a little before the death of Philip. King Ochus and his son Arses being dead, and all that line utterly extinct, Bagoas thought it adviseable to make a friendly present of that empire, which he could not keep himself; judging he should for ever be sure of the favour of him he should so highly oblige. At the
same

same time Darius was not look'd upon by the people to be unworthy of that high station, he not being altogether a stranger to the royal family. For Oftanes, Ochus's uncle, had for his son Arfanes, who was father to Codomannus; this being Darius's name, while a private person. But after he was seated in Cyrus's throne, according to the custom of the Persians, he laid aside his former name, and took that of Darius. He had also distinguish'd himself in the army, having kill'd his enemy upon a challenge, during the war Ochus was engag'd in against the Cadusii, and thereby establish'd a great opinion of his bravery and courage. He was the tenth from Cyrus (who founded that empire) who recover'd Persia. For Ochus succeeded Artaxerxes his father, who had succeeded Darius. To this, Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes left the kingdom. Xerxes succeeded his father Darius, who was the son of Hytaspes, and who (when Cyrus's line was extinct by the death of Cambyfes) in the famous conspiracy of the seven Persians, wrested the empire from the magi. Under these kings the Persian affairs flourish'd in an unexampled state of prosperity, for the space of two hundred and almost thirty years; having had a noble and brave beginning; while the nation, no way addicted to pleasure and voluptuousness, fought gallantly for liberty, glory, and riches. In process of time, when they had reap'd the advantageous fruits of their virtue, they at length neglected the thing itself, and ow'd their safety not so much to their own strength and bravery, as to the reputation of the power their ancestors had acquir'd, and their riches; with which they were far more successful against the Greeks than with their arms.

At last then, when they found their gold ineffectually opposed to the power of Alexander, and that

upon the removal of all other foreign means of assistance, they were now to depend upon themselves; so debauched were their minds, their spirits so broken and soften'd to so low a degree of effeminacy, that they could not support themselves under the first shock of their declining fortune. "For poverty sharpens industry; whereas luxury and idleness are the effects of affluence and plenty." Being inform'd of the death of Philip, (whose success and preparations alarm'd and terrify'd them) they were freed from their fears; and despis'd Alexander's youth, who they imagin'd would be well enough satisfy'd, if he might walk up and down unmolested at Pella. But receiving every day fresh intelligences of his wars and victories, they began very much to dread the youth they before contemn'd; and accordingly, with great care and diligence, prepar'd themselves for a vigorous and long war. And having in their former wars found by experience, that the Asiatick troops were not a match for the Europeans, they sent proper persons into Greece, to hire into their service fifty thousand men, the flower of the youth of that country. Memnon the Rhodian was appointed to command these forces, he having on several occasions given the Persians proof of his fidelity and bravery. He was order'd to make himself master of Cyzicus; marching therefore in great diligence thro' that part of Phrygia that joins to the Trojan territory, he came to mount Ida, which declares the nature of its situation by its name; for the ancients us'd to call all places which were planted thick with trees, Ida's. This mountain rises higher than any of the rest that are near the Hellespont. In the middle of it there is a cave much celebrated in fables, out of a religious horror; for it is said, the Trojan here pass'd his judgment on the beauty of the goddesses, when having

but

been expos'd by his father's command, he was educated to manhood upon this mountain. It is said also to have been the birth-place of the Idean Dactyles, who by the instruction of Cybele, or the great mother, found out the various uses of iron; it being no less useful and beneficial to us, when our occasions require it, or our labours, than pernicious, when it is the cruel instrument of our anger and rage. There is another thing worthy admiration, reported of it, viz. That when the winds, at the rise of the Dog-star, ruffle and disturb the lower parts, the air in the top of mount Ida is calm and quiet: As also, that while there is yet a great part of the night hovering over the earth, the sun is there to be seen, not in the figure of a globe or round, but extended in a large breadth, and embracing both sides of the mountain, as it were with distinct bodies of fire, till by degrees it unites again, and becomes one; and that at the approach of the light, it does not take up a greater space than that of an acre of ground; and contracting itself a little after into its usual compass, it performs its appointed course. As for my part, I am of opinion, that this false miracle appears to our eyes, when the imperfect image of the rising sun spreads itself thro' the air that is condens'd by the nocturnal cold, and no way shaken or divided by the wind, till the sun thawing and dissipating it by degrees, gives the eye a free passage to the orb of this planet: For then the air is pure and serene, and the rays of the sun are easily transmitted through it; whereas when it is condens'd, it obstructs and stops them, and as if they fell upon a looking-glass, it disperses them with an increase of splendor and brightness.

The territory of Cyzicus extends itself from the foot of mount Ida to Propontis. The town is situate in an island of a moderate compass, being join'd to

the continent by two bridges. But these were made by Alexander some time after; at the time of Memnon's expedition they crossed over in ships. Memnon having, by his unexpected attempt, in vain terrify'd the Cyziceniens, (the inhabitants making a vigorous resistance, and defending themselves gallantly) was forc'd to retire, having first plunder'd the country round about it, and carry'd off a considerable booty. All this while the Macedonian generals were not idle; for Parmenio took Grynium a town in Æolia, and made slaves of the inhabitants: After which, passing the river Caicus, he lay down before Pitane, a rich and wealthy place, having two convenient ports, whereby it could receive relief from Europe; but, upon the seasonable arrival of Memnon, he was forc'd to raise the siege. Calas, with a small number of Macedonians, and some hir'd troops, carry'd the war into the country of Troy, and came to an engagement with the Persians; but finding he was not a match for their multitude, he retir'd to Rhœtium.



C H A P. II.

IN the mean time, Alexander having settled the affairs of Greece, and being return'd to Macedon, was deliberating with his friends about those things he ought to provide against, and about those he ought to execute, before he enter'd upon so great a war. Antipater and Parmenio, who were the chief amongst them, both for their age and quality, earnestly begg'd of him, " That he would not in one person expose
 " the welfare and prosperity of the whole empire to
 " the treacherous uncertainties of fortune, but would
 " first

“ first marry, and get children ; and having by that
“ means provided for the safety of his country, after-
“ wards apply himself to the enlarging his dominions.”

The reason of which advice was, that there was at this time only Alexander left of Philip's blood, that was worthy of the empire, Olympias having destroy'd all Cleopatra's issue : And Aridæus, on the account of the mean extraction of his mother, and the disturbance of his mind, was look'd upon as one that would not become the Macedonian sceptre. However, Alexander being of a restless temper, could think of nothing but war, and the glory that results from victory ; wherefore he reply'd in this manner : “ Like
“ men of probity, and good patriots, you are not
“ without cause solicitous about the thing that may
“ either benefit or damnify your country. No body
“ can deny but it is a hard and difficult task we are
“ undertaking ; which if we rashly attempt, and the
“ event should not answer expectation, a late repentance could make no amends : for it is our business, before we hoist our sails, to consult, whether
“ it be advisable to undertake the voyage, or keep
“ quiet at home. But when we have once committed ourselves to the winds and the waves, we
“ are altogether at their mercy. I therefore do not
“ take it ill, that you differ from my opinion ; on
“ the contrary, I commend your sincerity, and desire you will shew the same integrity with reference
“ to those matters that shall hereafter become the
“ subject of our debates. They, who are really
“ their king's friends, if there be any worthy that
“ title, in their advice, do not so much consider how
“ to procure his favour, as how to promote his interest and glory. He that advises any otherwise
“ than he would act himself, is so far from instructing
“ him that consults him, that he imposes upon him,
“ and deceives him. Now that I may lay my own
D 5 “ opinion

“ opinion open to you, I am satisfy’d, that nothing
 “ is less conducive to the interest of my affairs than
 “ delay. After having curb’d all the Barbarians in
 “ the neighbourhood of Macedon, and quieted the
 “ commotions of Greece, shall we suffer a brave
 “ and victorious army to waste away in ease and idle-
 “ ness, or lead it into the wealthy provinces of Asia,
 “ which they have already taken possession of in
 “ hope; desiring the spoils of the Persians, as a re-
 “ ward of those labours they have gone through in
 “ their long service under my father, and for these
 “ three years past under our command? Darius is
 “ but lately come to the crown, and by his putting
 “ Bagoas to death, by whose means he obtained it,
 “ has given his people a suspicion of his being both
 “ cruel and ungrateful, which vices are apt to cause
 “ an aversion in the best subjects against their
 “ rulers, and to render them less ready to obey, if
 “ not altogether refractory. Shall we sit still then
 “ till he has confirm’d his authority, and having
 “ settled his affairs at home, of his own accord trans-
 “ ferred the war into Macedon? there are great ad-
 “ vantages to be reap’d from celerity and dispatch,
 “ which, if we lie still will accrue to the enemy.

“ The first impression of the mind is of great mo-
 “ ment in things of this nature; now that is always
 “ ready for him that first catches at it: for no body
 “ is backward to court the favour of the strongest:
 “ but he is esteem’d the strongest and bravest, that
 “ declares and carries abroad the war, and not he that
 “ receives it at home. Besides, how much shall we
 “ hazard our reputation, if we deceive the hopes of
 “ them, who, notwithstanding our youth, have
 “ thought us worthy of that honour that our father,
 “ who was a great captain, and had given so many
 “ proofs of his bravery and conduct, did not yet re-
 “ ceive till a little before his death? nor did the coun-

“ cil

“ cil of Greece decree us the sovereign command,
“ that we should live idly in Macedon, minding no-
“ thing but our pleasures, without the least concern
“ for former injuries, and those that have of late
“ been offer’d to the Grecian name: but that we
“ should revenge and punish these insolencies; which
“ the extravagance of their pride has induc’d them
“ to offer with such an air of boldness and arro-
“ gance. What shall I say of those Greek nations,
“ who being scatter’d up and down Asia, are op-
“ press’d by the insupportable slavery of the licen-
“ tious Barbarians? it were needless to represent to
“ you with what prayers and arguments Delius the
“ Ephesian pleaded their cause, since it is still fresh
“ in your memories. This is however certain, that
“ the very moment they behold our standards, they
“ will immediately repair to us, and readily embrace
“ the greatest of dangers, for the sake of their de-
“ liverers and protectors, against their unjust, cruel,
“ and inhuman masters. But why, as if we had for-
“ got ourselves and our enemies, should we look
“ about for assistance and succour against a people,
“ which to be slow in conquering, would redound
“ more to our shame than glory? in our father’s
“ time, a small body of Lacedæmonians having
“ march’d into Asia, were in vain oppos’d by vast
“ armies of the enemy, who suffer’d Phrygia, Lydia,
“ and Paphlagonia, to be harass’d and plunder’d;
“ or if they offer’d to hinder or oppose it, they were
“ beaten and slain, even to the tiring their enemies
“ with their slaughter; till Agesilaus being call’d
“ away with the troops under his command, on the
“ account of some commotions in Greece, gave them
“ (when they were in the greatest confusion, and al-
“ together uncertain what measures to take) sufficient
“ time to recover themselves from their fright. A
“ few years before him, scarce ten thousand Grecians,

“ without leaders, and without provisions, open'd
 “ themselves a passage with their sword, through so
 “ many nations of enemies, into their own country,
 “ from the very heart of the Persian empire, though
 “ they were pursued at the same time by the king's
 “ whole army, with which he had lately disputed
 “ the crown with his brother Cyrus, and conquer'd
 “ him ; and yet whenever they came to an engage-
 “ ment, this victorious army was always beaten by
 “ the Greeks, and put to flight. Shall we then, af-
 “ ter we have overcome Greece in so many victories,
 “ and brought it under our obedience, having either
 “ kill'd the bravest amongst them, or got them in
 “ our camp ; shall we, I say, be afraid of Asia,
 “ when a few of those whom we have beaten, have
 “ given it so many shameful defeats ?

After this, he said a great deal more to the same
 purpose, by which he so mov'd the minds of his
 hearers, that they all came into his opinion ; nay,
 Parmenio himself, who stickled most to have the war
 delay'd, was now for having it enter'd upon with
 all speed, and even made pressing speeches to Alexan-
 der on that account. Wherefore making it his whole
 business to get every thing in readiness for his march,
 he offer'd a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter Olympius, at
 Dium a town in Macedon. This sacrifice was originally
 instituted by Archelaus, who reign'd after Perdiccas,
 the son of Alexander. He also had stage-plays in ho-
 nour of the muses, which lasted nine days, according
 to the number of those goddesses. After this, he gave
 a magnificent entertainment, in a tent that held a hun-
 dred beds ; there he feasted with his friends, his gene-
 rals, and the deputies of the states ; he order'd like-
 wise, that part of the victims should be distributed among
 the soldiers with other provisions ; that this day, which
 was dedicated to mirth, might be celebrated with all
 entertainments, and lucky omens of the future war.

C H A P



C H A P. III.

IN the beginning of the spring, having gather'd his forces together, he pass'd into Asia; the strength of his army consisted more in its courage and bravery, than in its number of men. Parmenio led thirty thousand foot, of which there were thirteen thousand Macedonians, five thousand mercenaries, the rest were troops sent by the confederates. These were followed by five thousand others, made up of Illyrians, Thracians, and the Triballi, to which were added, a thousand Agrian archers. Philotas had the command of the Macedonian horse, that consisted of one thousand eight hundred. Calas headed the like number of Thessalians. The rest of Greece sent only six hundred horse, which he gave the command of to Erigyus: Cassander commanded the van, with nine hundred Thracians and Pæonians, for his advanc'd guard. With this army, having only thirty days provision, he ventur'd to make head against an infinite number of Barbarians, relying on the strength and bravery of his men; who being grown old in a continu'd series of victories, were by their courage and skilful use of their arms, more than a match for any number of enemies whatever. He entrusted the government of Macedonia and Greece with Antipater, leaving him twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, giving him withal this charge, to make constant levies to recruit his army, and supply the consumption of war, and the necessary decays of mortality. Hope was the only thing he had reserv'd to himself, when he divided the rest amongst his friends. For before
he

he took shipping, he had distributed among them all that he could, without impairing the majesty of regal dignity. Perdicas refus'd the lands that were offer'd him, and desired the king to tell him, what he would have left for himself? to which the king answer'd, "Hopes." "Why then, reply'd he, we shall partake of them, since we fight under your conduct and fortune." There were a few that imitated him, the rest accepted of his gifts. Alexander being again asked, "Where his treasures were now?" he answered, "In the hands of my friends." And indeed, as he had flung himself upon fortune, and staked his All upon the hazard of her dice, he did not seem to have mis-plac'd his riches: for as by conquering he stood fair for greater, so if he were overcome, he could expect no less than to lose those he had; in the mean time, he was sure of being serv'd with greater chearfulness and alacrity. And as for the present necessities, they did not suffer much by the grants he had made of his lands, manors and revenues, whose time of payment was still remote. As for the money, it was set apart for the use of the war, and was with so much the greater care husbanded in the dispensation, by how much it was less in quantity. For when Philip was kill'd, there was hardly threescore talents of coin'd money in the exchequer, and a few silver and golden vessels: whereas the debts at that time amounted to five hundred talents. And notwithstanding he had very much augmented the Macedonian power and interest, and so far improv'd the golden mines near Crenidæ, (which he call'd Philippy) that he drew from thence the yearly income of a thousand talents; yet by reason of his continual wars, and the large presents he made, the treasury was quite exhausted: he had besides, laid out vast sums in repair-

ing and adorning Macedonia, which he found in a very poor and low condition. A great many could remember, that at his coming to the crown, he was but in indifferent circumstances, insomuch that he us'd to lay under his pillow, every night when he went to bed, a gold cup which he had, that weigh'd about fifty drachma's. And yet this man's son ventur'd to attack the king of Persia, who had five thousand talents of gold for his pillow, and three thousand talents of silver for his footstool, plac'd under the head and feet of his bed, in proper repositories; although he had added to his father's debts eight hundred talents, which he had taken up upon loan, of which there hardly remain'd the tenth part. He is said to have set out, Timotheus playing on the flute, and the army expressing the greatest cheerfulness imaginable, as having already engross'd in their thoughts, all the wealth and riches of the Barbarians they were going to fight against. After this manner he was carry'd to the Strymon, through a lake call'd Circinites, (from a neighbouring mountain) where he had his fleet. He came first to Amphipolis, from whence he proceeded to the mouth of the Strymon; which having pass'd, he march'd by the side of the mountain Pangæus, and struck into the way that leads to Abdera and Maronea. He on purpose march'd along the shore, that he might be ready to assist his fleet that sail'd by him, in case the Persians should attack it, for they were at that time also masters at sea, and he had but a moderate fleet: whereas the enemy had ships from Cyprus and Phœnicia, and mariners harden'd to sea-affairs, and very experienc'd rowers. For the Macedonians having but lately attempted the sovereignty of the sea, did not abound with ships, and the allies furnish'd them but sparingly, and as
it

it were against their will. Even the Athenians, when they were required to send in their galleys, sent but twenty: their orators persuading them that it was dangerous, lest, upon its arrival, it should be employed against those who had sent it.

From hence he march'd to the river Hebrus: which having pass'd without much difficulty, he came into Pætica, a country in Thrace; from thence passing over the river Melas, on the twentieth day from his setting out, he arrived at Sestus, a town situate in the extremity of the continent, and looking into the Hellespont, where the sea contracting itself into several windings, divides Asia from Europe; for Macedon is join'd to Thrace, which extending itself to the eastward in two points, would reach Asia if it were not separated from it by the sea; on the right hand the Hellespont hinders it, and farther on the Bosphorus, firnam'd the Thracian, divides Byzantium from Chalcedon. Propontis that is contracted between these streights, enlarges its channel near the countries of Bithynia and Pontus. Below Bithynia lies Mysia, and then Phrygia, and Lydia that joins to that, are more remote from the sea; the more inward provinces that are very spacious and large, and celebrated for their fertility and riches, are inhabited by several nations. The coasts that face Thrace and Greece are possess'd by the Hellespontins, and farther on by the Trojans, famous for their misfortunes and calamities. Beneath these Æolis and Ionia, in a long extent of shore, stretch themselves out on the borders of Lydia. In the next place is Caria that joins to the country of Doris, and is in a great measure encompass'd with the sea, and the inland parts of which are of a large extent. Near these territories are the noble islands, the Æolic Lesbos, the Ionian Chios and Samos, and the Doric Rhodus, and several

several others, whose names are celebrated in the writings of the Greeks : for formerly the Greeks had populous colonies on this coast, which were still remaining ; but by being made subject to the king of Persia, and his governors, they had lost their ancient liberty, and were become slaves. Alexander being arriv'd at Sestus, order'd the greatest part of his army to repair to Abydus, seated on the opposite shore, under the conduct of Parmenio, with whom he left for this purpose, a hundred and threescore gallies, besides several ships of burthen : while he with the rest went to Eleus, which is dedicated to Proteus, whose grave is there, with a tomb erected to his memory. The tomb is encompass'd with a great many elms, which are of a wonderful nature ; for the leaves that put out in the morning, on those branches that look towards Ilium, fall in the morning, while the others retain a lasting verdure : it is thought that they hereby express the untimely fate of the hero, who being in the flower of his age, when he accompany'd the Greeks in their Asian expedition, fell the first victim of the Trojan war. Alexander therefore paying him the rites of the dead, implor'd that he might be attended with better fortune when he landed on the enemies shore. From hence he went to Sigeum, taking with him fifty gallies, and beheld that haven that was become remarkable by the Greeks putting in there with their fleet in the Trojan war. When he was in the middle of the Hellespont (for he himself was pilot of his own ship) he sacrific'd a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, flinging the golden vessels (out of which he had made the libation) into the sea, as a present to the deities of the sea. The fleet being come into the harbour, the king cast a dart upon the shore, leap'd out of the ship, and was the first that landed,

pro-

protesting at the same time, “ That with the assistance
 “ of the gods, he propos’d, by a just war, to make
 “ himself master of Asia.” He afterwards erected
 altars in the place where he made his descent, to
 Jupiter, Minerva and Hercules : he also order’d altars
 to be built in that place of Europe from whence he
 set out.



C H A P. IV.

FR O M hence he proceeded on to the plains,
 where he was shew’d the seat of the ancient
 Troy. Here, while he was examining curiously the
 monuments of the works of the heroes, one of the
 inhabitants promis’d him Paris’s harp : to whom he
 made answer, “ That he did not set any value on
 “ the mean instrument of effeminate pleasures : but
 “ give me, if you can, that of Achilles, on which
 “ he us’d to celebrate the praises of the heroes, with
 “ the same hand, with which he surpass’d their
 “ atchievements.” For he was a great admirer of
 Achilles, valuing himself for being descended from
 him ; he therefore with his friends run naked round
 his tomb, and anointed it with oil, and adorn’d it
 with a crown. Hephæstion likewise put a crown
 upon that of Patroclus : hinting thereby that he held
 the same rank in Alexander’s favour, that the other
 did in Achilles’s. Among the various discourses they
 had concerning Achilles, the king said, “ He look’d
 “ upon him to have been doubly happy ; for having
 “ had, while living, a true and faithful friend ; and
 “ when dead, a good poet to celebrate his actions.”
 He also sacrific’d to the other heroes, whose tombs
 are

are to be seen in those countries. He offer'd sacrifices likewise to Priamus, on Hærcius's altar, either to appease his ghost, as having been kill'd by Achilles's son ; or else on the account of the relation he thought there was between him and the Trojans, since Neoptolemus married Andromache, Hæctor's widow. He with great devotion sacrific'd to Minerva, for whom he had a particular veneration : and hanging up his arms in the temple, he took down others that were said to have been there, ever since the time of the Trojan war. These he caus'd to be bore before him, as if they were lent him by the favour of the deity, to conquer and subdue Asia ; and it is said he actually had them on, when he fought the Persian generals near the Granicus. Otherwise he took great delight in fine arms, being in nothing so nice as in them. I find him to have made use of a buckler that was very bright, and that his head-piece was finely set off with a tuft of feathers, that fell down on each side, and were remarkable for their extreme whiteness and largeness. It is true his head-piece was of iron, but then it was so neatly polish'd that it look'd like silver, and was the work of Theophilus. He had a double linnen breast-plate : his collar was also of iron, but it was curiously adorn'd with precious stones that cast a glorious lustre. His sword was remarkable both for its edge and temper ; and it was the more valuable for this, that notwithstanding its strength, it was light and easily handled. Over this armour he would sometimes wear a military sur-tout of that kind, that was then call'd the Sicilian fashion. Some of these arms he had not 'till afterwards ; as for instance, the breast-plate, which we mentioned, was found amongst the spoils after the battle near Illus ; the sword was presented him by the king of the Citici, a people of Cyprus. The Rhodians made
him

him a present of his belt, which was wrought with incomparable art, by Helicon that famous artificer. We are not ashamed to relate these particulars, which have deservedly found place in the works of ancient authors; besides, the sayings and actions of great kings, how minute and light soever they may be, are reflected on, with both profit and pleasure. It is most certain that the arms of Alexander were held in great esteem by following ages; nay, time itself, that general destroyer, seem'd to shew a respect to them; for one of the Roman generals, after the conquest of the Pontick kingdoms, wore his cloak at the solemnity of his triumph; another having put on his breast-plate, run up and down the bridge he had made over the sea, in imitation of Darius and Xerxes. Alexander march'd from the temple of Minerva to Arisbe, where the Macedonians, that Parmenio commanded, were encamp'd.

The next day he pass'd by the towns Percote and Lamfacus, and came to the river Practius; which rising out of the Idæan mountains, runs through the territories of Lampfacus and Abydus, and then winding a little to the northward, empties itself into Propontis. From thence passing by Hermotus, he march'd to Colonæ, a town situate in the middle of the Lampfacenian territory. Having taken all these into his protection, upon their submission to him, (for he had pardon'd the Lampfacenians) he sent Penegorus to take possession of the town of the Priapeni, which the inhabitants surrender'd to him. Then he order'd Amyntas, who was the son of Arrabæus, to take four troops, (whereof one consisted of Apolloniates, and was commanded by Socrates) and go upon the scout, in order to get intelligence of the enemy, who was not now far off, and was making all the preparation possible for the war. Among them, Memnon, for
skil

skill in military matters, far exceeded the rest. He endeavour'd to persuade them, “ To destroy every
“ thing all round about them, that could be of any
“ use to the enemy, and then retire farther into the
“ country ; to cause the cavalry to trample down
“ and waste all the grafs ; to burn all the villages and
“ towns ; leaving nothing behind them but the bare,
“ naked land : that the Macedonians had hardly a
“ month's provision, and they would afterwards be
“ necessitated to live upon plunder ; now if that
“ means of subsisting were remov'd, they would in
“ little time be forc'd to retire, so that all Asia would
“ be safe at a cheap rate. It was true, that there
“ was something very dismal in his advice ; but on
“ all occasions, where dangers were impending, wise
“ men make it their business to get off with as little
“ damage as they could. Thus the physicians, if
“ one part of the body be seiz'd with a distemper,
“ which is likely to spread into other parts, they lop
“ it off, and so with the loss of a limb, secure the
“ health of the rest of the body : that the Persians
“ would not do this without a precedent. For
“ Darius had formerly destroy'd all those countries,
“ lest the Scythians in their passage through them,
“ should find accommodation. If they came to a
“ battle, all would be at stake, and if the Persians
“ were beat, all that country would fall into Alexan-
“ der's hands ; whereas, if they got the better, they
“ would be still but where they were. That indeed
“ there was no small danger from the Macedonian
“ Phalanx, that the Persian foot, tho' much more
“ numerous, would not be able to resist it : besides,
“ the king's being present would not contribute a
“ little to the gaining of the victory, since the sol-
“ diers fighting in the presence of their general,
“ would be spurr'd on with hope, shame, and glory
“ at

“ at the same time ; all which advantages the Mace-
 “ donians had, but Darius was absent from them.
 “ Besides, no body doubted but that it was much
 “ better to make war in a foreign country than in
 “ one's own ; that they would be sure of that advan-
 “ tage, if they follow'd his advice, and invaded
 “ Macedon.

But this speech did not please any of the other
 generals : they said, “ Perhaps this might seem pro-
 “ per to Memnon the Rhodian, who would find a
 “ benefit by protracting the war, since he would
 “ thereby enjoy his honours and salaries so much
 “ the longer ; but it would be a foul disgrace to the
 “ Persians to betray the people that were committed
 “ to their trust and care, and that they could not
 “ answer it to the king, whose instructions to them
 “ laid down a very different scheme for the prosecu-
 “ tion of the war :” for Darius being inform'd of
 Alexander's motion, had sent letters to his gover-
 nors and lieutenants, commanding them, “ First to
 “ put that rash youth of Philip's in mind of his years
 “ and condition, by whipping him, and then to send
 “ him to him cloath'd in purple and bound : to sink
 “ his ships with their crew, and carry all his soldiers
 “ to the remotest parts of the Red-Sea.”

So secure was he of futurity, through his excess-
 sive pride, and the ignorance of his destiny, he di-
 vested himself of all sense of human weakness, pre-
 tending to be related to the gods ; rather because he
 did not seem much inferior to them in power, than
 on the score of the antient fable that deriv'd the pe-
 digree and name of the kings of Persia from Perseus
 the son of Jupiter. He had a little before writ to the
 Athenians in the same haughty style ; adding, “ That
 “ since they had preferr'd the friendship of the Ma-
 “ cedonian

“cedonian to his, they must not for the future ask
 “him for any more gold: for though they should
 “beg it of him, he would send them none.”



C H A P. V.

BUT Alexander being advanc'd as far as that
 portion of land that the king of Persia had be-
 stow'd on Memnon, gave special orders not to offer
 any injury either to the persons of his tenants, or the
 product of the lands; by which proceeding he pru-
 dently contriv'd to cause at least a suspicion of the
 only man he did not despise among all the enemy's
 generals, if he should not be able to bring him over
 to his interest. Hereupon some wondering at the
 king's moderation and goodness, did not scruple to
 say, that being the most cunning and bitter enemy
 the Macedonians had, he ought to be put to death as
 soon as they could get him in their hands, and in the
 mean time they ought to do him all the damage they
 could: to which the king reply'd, “That on the
 “contrary, they ought to win him by good offices,
 “and to make him a friend of an enemy, and that
 “then, he would exert the same courage and conduct
 “on their side.”

They were now come into the Adraſtean plains,
 through which the river Granicus runs with a swift
 current. There, some of those that were sent before
 with Hegelochus to get intelligence, bring him an
 account, that the Persians waited for him, in order of
 battle, on the other side of the river. He therefore
 halted for some time, to consult about the passing the
 river,

river, and call all his generals together. The major part were of opinion, that it was altogether rash and impracticable to stem the current of that deep river, in the presence of so many thousand horse and foot, that were drawn up on the other side, and the bank itself being very steep, and of difficult access. There were not wanting some, that suggested, that it was then the month called Desius, (which answers to that of June) which was always very unfortunate to the Macedonians. Hereupon Alexander, tho' he was not uneasy on the account of the danger, yet he did not despise the superstition; being sensible of the powerful effects even of vain and ill-grounded religion, in weak minds. He therefore ordain'd that they should repeat the name of the preceding month, and instead of Desius, have another Artemisius. And the more effectually to settle the minds of them that were alarm'd, he caus'd Aristander (who was then sacrificing for a prosperous passage) to be secretly admonish'd, to write with an artificial ink, on that hand that was to receive the intrails, (inverting the characters, that the liver being impos'd thereon might by its heat attract the same, and express them properly) "That the gods granted the victory to Alexander." This miracle being divulg'd, fill'd every body with such mighty hopes of the future, that they unanimously declar'd, in loud acclamations, "That
 " after such tokens of the favour of heaven, there
 " was no room left to doubt of any thing." Thus being by a wile brought into a confidence of success, they as it were run away with the victory, because their thoughts were convinc'd it was their own.

The king thinking it advisable to make use of this bold disposition of their minds, immediately led them over; notwithstanding Parmenio very much entreated him

him to wait at least till the morning, (for the greater part of the day was now past) and joked at Parmenio's anxiety, saying, "That the Hellespont would have cause to blush, if after he had surmounted the difficulties of passing that, they should boggle at the passing of a brook." The king with thirteen troops of horse had hardly pass'd thro' the violence of the streams, but before he could get firm footing on the shore, or make good the ranks that had been disorder'd in the passage, he was on all sides press'd by the Persian cavalry: For upon their disapproving Memnon's advice, and their resolving to fight, (Arsites, who was governor of Phrygia, having openly declar'd, he would not suffer the least hut to be burnt within his jurisdiction, and the rest having enter'd into his sentiments) they had posted themselves along the river Granicus, to the number of one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; making use of the river as of a fortification, and designing as it were, to bar that door of Asia against Alexander. Being therefore inform'd of his arrival, they so drew up their cavalry (in which consisted the main strength of their army) that the right wing of the Macedonians, which was commanded by the king himself, (for the left he had committed to Parmenio's care) was oppos'd by Memnon and his sons, together with Arsanes the Persian; Arsites was also here with the auxiliary Paphlagonian horse. Spithridates, who was the king's son-in-law, commanded the body of reserve; he was accompanied by his brother Rhæfæces, who was governor of Libya and Ionia, and by the Ilyrcanian horse. In the right of the foot were two thousand Medes and as many Bactrians under the command of Rheomithres. The main body was commanded by Pharnaces the queen's brother, Arbupales, and Mitrobarzanes governor of Cappadocia: these were

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join'd by Niphates and Petanes, as also by Arfaces and Atizyes, who had brought along with them troops of several nations; these being superior in number, and having the advantage of the ground, press'd vehemently upon the enemy, and the fight was very sharp: the king was here particularly in danger, who being remarkable by his arms, by his bravery and by the orders he gave up and down, was chiefly attack'd by a great many.

In the heat of the action a dart that was levell'd at the king stuck fast in the folds of the lower part of his armour, but did not wound him; however, he was in real danger from Rhæfaces and Spithridates, two of the boldest of all the Persian generals, who attack'd him at the same time. For having broke his lance upon Spithridates's breast-plate; as he was going to make use of his sword, Spithridates's brother riding up to him, struck so great a blow with his cymetar on his helmet, that he cut it through, and lightly touch'd the king's hair; part of the helmet falling down by the force of the stroke, he was just going to give him another, on that part of his head that lay bare, when Clitus observing the king's manifest danger, flew to his assistance and prevented him, by cutting off the sword arm of the Barbarian; Alexander flew Spithridates at the same time.

Notwithstanding this the Persians made a gallant resistance; till at last, being dishearten'd by the loss of their generals (of whom the major part were already kill'd) and the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, that by this time had pass'd the river, they betook themselves to a precipitous flight; after which the foot made but a small resistance; for imagining that their horse was more than sufficient to overcome the enemy, their mind was more intent on the plunder,

der, than on the danger ; till by the sudden and unexpected event, they became a sacrifice to the Macedonians ; for it was now no longer a fight, but a perfect butchery. The mercenaries however, who were commanded by Omars, having possess'd themselves of an eminence, made a vigorous defence : For he had refus'd to give them quarter. In this conflict therefore, there fell more Macedonians than in the engagement of the horse ; nay, the king himself (who fought amongst the forwardest) was here so near danger, that the horse he rid upon was run through the body with a sword. This accident so enflam'd his anger, that having surrounded them, both with his cavalry and phalanx, he made an entire slaughter of them, except two thousand that surrender'd at discretion. There were in all killed of the enemy, twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and very near the like number taken prisoners. The generals Memnon, Arsaces, Reomithres, and Antizyes, sav'd themselves by flight ; the others dy'd honourably of their wounds. Arsaces being got into Phrygia, laid violent hands on himself, under a conflict of shame and remorse, that he should not undeservedly be look'd upon as the cause of this defeat. Alexander lost in this battle but few in number, but they were the boldest and best of his men. Of the foot only thirty were kill'd, and seventy of the horse. That all might therefore be sensible, that they were sure of a reward from him in either fortune, he enrich'd the survivors with the spoils of the Persians, and magnificently interr'd the bodies of the dead, with their arms, and other ornaments ; granting at the same time to their parents and children, an exemption of all offices. The wounded were also particularly taken care of ; for the king going about their tents, visited them one
by

by one, and express'd thereby his concern even for the meanest soldier, comforting them in their misfortune, either by his bounty, commendations, or promises. This condescending carriage so endear'd him to them, that they were ready on all occasions to encounter the greatest dangers for his sake, with the utmost constancy and fidelity; none being unwilling to lay down their lives for him, who neither suffer'd them to live in want, nor to die without marks of honour. But he in a special manner distinguish'd the five and twenty of the band of his friends, who fighting in a disadvantageous ground, were at the first onset oppress'd by a multitude of the Persians. For he commanded Lysippus (who alone on the account of his wonderful art, had the privilege to cast his statue in brass) to represent every one of them in a statue on horseback, which were set up in Dion, a town of Macedonia, and were afterwards upon the fall of that empire, translated to Rome by Metellus. The chiefest glory of this victory was due to the king himself, who drew up the army with all the skill imaginable, and having observ'd the nature of the ground, he led them thro' the river in an oblique order, that they might not be attack'd by the Persians, immediately on their getting out of the water; then, when they were put in disorder, and somewhat terrify'd, he animated them by his exhortations, and prevailed with them at least to make one vigorous attack more; this was not all, for he fought gallantly in his own person, killing several with his lance, others with his sword, insomuch that those that he encounter'd with himself, were the first that fled. His conduct likewise, though it had an appearance of temerity and rashness, yet it was grounded upon reason; for his army was to engage with a new enemy, not

rejoice

superior to it in number, he had a mind to arm it also with despair, that observing their retreat to be cut off by the river, they might place all their hopes of safety in victory. The Theffalians, in whom the main strength of his cavalry consisted, signaliz'd themselves on this occasion; nor were the rest wanting in their duty, especially the horse; for it was the horse that chiefly did the work, the enemies foot making but little resistance, and soon giving way. Moreover, he gave orders that the most considerable of the Persians should be decently buried, as also the mercenary Greeks that serv'd the enemy: But those of them that were taken alive, he caus'd to be distributed among the prisons in Macedonia, because, that contrary to the general decree of all Greece, they had serv'd the Barbarians against their own country. However, he dismiss'd the Thebans, in consideration that their town being raz'd, and their lands taken from them, they seem'd to be necessitated to what they did; besides, the many calamities they had sustained, had in a manner glutted even revenge, and made room for pity. After this, he chose three hundred bucklers out of the spoils of the enemy, and sent them to Athens to be hung up in the temple of Minerva, with this pompous inscription, " Alexander the son of Philip, and the
" rest of the Greeks, excepting the Lacedæmonians,
" dedicate these spoils, taken from the Barbarians
" who inhabit Asia." He did this with this view, that by making the Greeks partake of the glory and praise of the victory, they might the more readily comply for the future with the other necessities of the war; at the same time he upbraided the Lacedæmonians contumacious temper, who acting by a separate interest, had cut themselves off from the main body of the Greeks; and by that deportment

had depriv'd themselves of their share in so great an honour. Neither was he unmindful of his mother; for whom he had always a true filial duty and veneration; for he sent her the plate, the purple, and the other valuable spoils of that nature, reserving only a few for his own use.



C H A P. VI.

AFTER this battle, Alexander repair'd again to Troy, and return'd thanks to the goddess, who had, upon his undertaking so dangerous a war, furnish'd him with arms, and encourag'd him with prosperous presages of the event. For when he went thither first, immediately after his passing the Hellespont, (as we before took notice) he saw an equestrian statue lying on the ground, just opposite to the temple of Minerva, which represented Ariobarfanes, who had formerly been governor of Phrygia. Upon the sight hereof, Aristander promis'd Alexander a glorious victory in some horse engagement; more especially if the action happen'd not far from Phrygia; and also that he should with his own hand slay the general of the enemy. Accordingly the event made good the prediction; for Spithridates being kill'd by the king's sword, fulfill'd the prophecy. He therefore not only made rich presents to the temple, but gave the title of city to Troy, that before hardly exceeded in compass a moderate village; and that it might with credit bear that honour, he appointed proper persons to restore and enlarge it, bestowing

bestowing on it at the same time, all manner of immunities. And because he observ'd that the temple of the goddess was too small, for the great concourse of people that resorted thither out of a religious motive, and that it was decay'd; he had resolv'd hereafter to build a magnificent one in the room thereof. But these, as well as a great many other noble designs, were prevented by his fate, his successors neglecting to put them in execution. By this victory, the king laid open to himself all that part of Asia that is on this side mount 'Taurus and the Euphrates, the inhabitants being astonish'd at the unexpected overthrow: For having not only lost their troops, but their generals too in the battle, they had now no hopes left, but in the king's clemency; in the obtaining of which, they endeavour'd to prevent one another, by a speedy surrender of themselves to his mercy. Arsites had, by laying violent hands on himself, render'd Phrygia defenceless; Alexander therefore constituted Cailas (who was general of the Thessalians) governor of that country. There came several embassies likewise from the mountainous parts, to surrender themselves and all they had to Alexander, who having taken them into his protection, sent them home. He also forgave the Zeliti, because he knew they had been compell'd by the Persians, to serve against him. He impos'd the same tribute on them all, that they had us'd to pay to Darius; observing the same method with reference to all the other provinces of Asia he afterwards reduc'd. Alexander was sensible, that all foreign government is odious and subject to envy, notwithstanding it be administered with more lenity and mildness than the domestick; but if the former burdens of the subject are increas'd by the addition of new ones, it is then look'd upon as altogether

intolerable ; wherefore, when a certain person told him, that he might draw much greater tributes and revenues from so large an empire, he answered, “ That he hated even a gardener, that pull’d the
“ plants up by the roots, which he ought only to
“ crop.”

Being inform’d, that Dascylium was possess’d by a party of Persians, he sent Parmenio thither, whom the inhabitants readily received ; the Persians having quitted it, as soon as they heard of the approach of the Macedonians. In the mean time, he went himself to Sardis, which is the metropolis of all the places which the kings of Persia had put under the jurisdiction of the governors of the maritime country. He was within threescore and ten furlongs of the town, when Mithrenes (to whom Darius had committed the care of the citadel of Sardis) with the chief of the Sardinian nobility, came and surrender’d to him the citadel, with the money that was deposited there. Having graciously receiv’d them, he advanc’d to the river Hermus, that is about twenty furlong distant from the town ; having there pitch’d his camp, he sent Amyntas, Andromene’s son, to take possession of the citadel. It is situated on the top of a very high hill, and every way of difficult access ; so that it might have been maintain’d against any force whatever, even without the help of its wall, that had also a triple rampart. Having therefore applauded his success upon the surrender of so important a place, which by reason of its strength might have held out a long siege, and so retarded the execution of his other great design, he resolv’d to build a temple there, in honour of Jupiter Olympius ; and as he was diligently looking about, to find out what place would be most proper for such a structure, there arose on a sudden a furious storm

storm, which pour'd down a great quantity of rain on part of the citadel, where formerly the palace of the Lydian kings had stood. Believing therefore, that the gods thereby pointed out what place they had destin'd for that purpose, he order'd the temple to be built there. Then he made Pausanias, who was one of the band of his friends, governor of the citadel, assigning to him the auxiliaries of the Argives. The other troops of his allies he allotted to Calas and Alexander the son of Æropæus, giving them Memnon's government. He appointed, at the same time, Nicias to collect the tributes and imposts. Astander, Philotas's son, had the government of Lydia, with the same bounds and limitations Spithridates had held it before. He granted to the Lydians the privilege of living according to their own laws; and because he understood the Sardians were very much devoted to Diana, whom they call Coloene, he gave her temple the privilege of an asylum. He did great honours to Mithrenes, that by his example others might be encourag'd to revolt; and in process of time, he bestowed on him the government of Armenia. In this citadel, he found an account of what money had been distributed by Darius's generals, to bring about a war upon Macedon, from the Greeks: It appear'd also, that Demosthenes had received vast sums for this purpose, some of whose letters were there to be seen. But by reason he had made a peace, and concluded all matters with the Athenians, he did not think it proper to complain publicly of these proceedings; however, he thought it necessary to be the more careful to keep the Athenians in their duty, and to prevent their being prevail'd upon by this man's wonderful eloquence, since their defection would go near to draw along with it that of all Greece. He

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had

had no body in greater esteem than Phocion, whose integrity and innocency, together with his constant adherence to virtue, render'd poverty itself honourable. He valued him at first for the use he made of him; but being afterwards on several occasions convinc'd of his magnanimity, he honoured him out of admiration of his virtue; insomuch that, when (after Darius's overthrow) he was grown so haughty, as to think it beneath him to honour any one he writ to with the common form of salutation, he reserv'd that mighty favour for Antipater and Phocion only. It is certain the king sent him a hundred talents at one time, and gave him the choice of four no inconsiderable towns in Asia, viz. Cius, Elæa, Mylasa, and Gergetho; some put Patara instead of the last; but he refused all those offers; yet lest he should seem to slight the friendship of so great a king, he desir'd that Echeratides the sophist, Athenodorus the Imbrian, with Demaratus, and Spartan, Rhodians, who were prisoners in the castle of Sardis, might be set at liberty. But these transactions run into a later date.

After this, he march'd to Ephesus, which the garrison had quitted, (being inform'd of the defeat of the Persians) going off in two Ephesian gallees; among the rest was Amyntas, Antiochus's son, who had fled from Macedonia, without any other provocation, than that he was afraid of the king, whom he mortally hated, making a judgment of his disposition from his own. Alexander enter'd into Ephesus the fourth day after he left Sardis: Here he recall'd those that were banish'd in the time of the oligarchy, and restor'd the government to the people. The people having now obtain'd their long-wish'd-for liberty, desired that those who had called in Memnon, and those who had plundered the temple of Diana,
and

and had cast down Philip's statue that stood there, or had dug up Heropythus's monument that was plac'd in the forum, as to the deliverer of the city, might all suffer the punishment they deserved. Of these therefore Pelagon, with his brother Syrphaces, and his cousins, were dragg'd out of the temple, into which they had fled for protection, and ston'd to death. All things tended to blood and confusion, when Alexander putting a stop to the outrageous license of the rabble, forbad making any farther inquiry into those matters, or molesting any one on that account. Thus the chiefest and best citizens were sav'd, who would otherwise, on the score of their dignity or riches, under the pretext of real or fictitious crimes, have been exposed to the hatred and avarice of the enraged multitude. While these things were doing, the Magnesians and Trallians sent ambassadors to him to notify their submission to his will and pleasure; he therefore sent Parmenio thither with five thousand foot and two hundred horse; he sent Alcimalus with the same number, to the Æolick and Ionian cities, within the Persian jurisdiction; giving orders to both to abolish the oligarchies, and to establish every where a popular state; for he had found by experience, that the people were well inclin'd to him, which had been the cause of the Barbarians restraining them by the government of tyrants.

While Alexander stay'd at Ephesus, he frequently went to Apelles's shop to divert himself after the fatigues of business, who was the only person he would allow to draw his picture, and was so high in his favour, that he bestow'd on him the best belov'd of his concubines, because he found Apelles was deeply in love with her. Her name was Pancastra, she was born at Larissa, a considerable town in Thessaly:

and the king lov'd her tenderly, as well for her exquisite beauty, as because she was the first he took a fancy for in his youthful days. This action was very suitable to Alexander's greatness of soul. But I do not give credit to the report, that Apelles by a shrewd repartee silenc'd Alexander, who let his tongue run very fast, but unskilfully, concerning many things in his art; for this is not agreeable to the veneration that is due to the majesty of so mighty a king, nor to the modesty of the painter, who neither wanted parts, or the address of a man of letters. Besides, as Alexander from his tender years had been conversant with the liberal sciences, it is to be suppos'd he could make a proper judgment, even in those arts he was not thoroughly vers'd in. What others say, seems more probable, that it was one of the Ephesian Diana's priests, generally call'd Megabizi, that was so reprov'd by Apelles, who told him, "That while he held his tongue, his ornaments of gold and purple rendered him venerable to the ignorant; but when he pretended to speak concerning things he knew nothing of, he became ridiculous even to the boys that grind the colours." It was in this city, that Hierostratus burnt the so much celebrated temple, as we before observed.

The Ephesians were now very intent on the rebuilding that curious structure, sparing no expence in the work. Alexander therefore, to assist their zeal ordain'd, that the subsidies which they us'd to pay before to the Persians, should for the future be paid to Diana; and confirm'd to it the privilege of an asylum, which he understood had formerly been preserv'd to it, both by Bacchus and Hercules, and enlarg'd its bounds, allowing them to reach every way to the extent of a furlong. Some time after, when he

he had settled all things in Asia, he writ to the Ephesians, “ That he would reimburse all the charges
“ they had been at in the restoring that edifice ; and
“ moreover, would supply whatever should hereafter
“ be wanting, provided his name were inscrib’d on
“ the new building : ” But the Ephesians excus’d themselves from granting that ; and because it was of dangerous consequence to refuse Alexander any thing he requir’d, their ambassador had recourse to flattery, which he knew had a mighty influence over him, and told him, “ That it was an affront to his
“ high dignity, to consecrate any thing to the gods,
“ since he was himself a god, that being an honour
“ paid by men to the deity, as to a superior nature ; ” so great was the contention for glory betwixt this monarch and one single city. However, the Ephesians gain’d their point, chusing rather to go without so vast a sum, than to yield to the king, the inscription of the new temple. Now how great their expences were in this work, may be guess’d from the price of one single picture they hung up in it, which cost them twenty talents of gold : It represented Alexander with a thunder-bolt in his hand ; Apelles had drawn this piece after so inimitable a manner, that he made use of but four colours, which heightened the admiration of all who had any taste or judgment in that art.



C H A P. VII.

ABOUT this time the Smyrnæans had the seat where they had formerly flourish'd, restor'd to them, after they had for the space of four hundred years liv'd scatter'd up and down in villages, upon the Lydians having destroy'd the ancient Smyrna. The king rebuilt it about twenty furlongs distant from the place where the town had stood, being admonish'd in a dream to do so. Alexander us'd (when his affairs of moment would permit) to divert himself in hunting; one time particularly having fatigu'd himself with that exercise, he fell asleep on a mountain call'd Pagus; while he was taking his rest, he fancied he heard the Nemesis (who had a temple hard by) command him to build a city in that very place, and people it with the Smyrnæans. This dream was afterwards confirm'd by the Oracle of Apollo Clarius, which promis'd the Smyrnæans, that their removal would redound to their advantage; hereupon the foundations of the new town are laid by the king's orders, but Antigenus had the glory of finishing it, Alexander having some time after committed to him the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and the neighbouring countries.

The Clazomenii inhabit that part of the gulph of Smyrna that is narrowest, and joins to the continent; the lands that run into the sea, for the space of sixty furlongs, making a kind of peninsula. Teos stands on that side of the isthmus which is opposite to the Clazomenii, and Myrthræ is situate in the utmost point of

of the peninsula, which was even then famous for its prophetesses : hard by this town is the high mountain Mimas, over-against the isle of Chio, and looks into the sea ; then falling with a gentle declivity, not far from the straits of the Clazomenii, it terminates in plains. Alexander having view'd the nature of the place, resolv'd to cut thro' that narrow neck of land, and divide it from the continent, that so he might encompass Erythræ and Mimas with the sea, and unite the upper and lower gulph. It is observ'd, that this was the only thing in which he was disappointed, fortune labouring, as it were, to accomplish all his other undertakings. This disappointment caus'd a sort of religious reflection, " as if it were " not lawful for mortals to change the face of na-
" ture," especially after others who had made the same attempt ; however, he join'd Clazomenæ to the continent by a bank of two furlongs, the Clazomenii having heretofore made an island of it, out of fear of the Persians : but these works were committed to the care of the governors. As for himself, having been very magnificent in his sacrifices at Ephesus, he made a general exercisè of all the troops that were with him, in honour of the goddess, and march'd the next day to Miletus, taking with him all the foot, the Thracian horse, and four troops of those he call'd his friends, the royal being one of them. For Hegesistrates, who commanded the garrison, had given him hopes in a letter, that he was ready to surrender to him ; but understanding afterwards that the Persian fleet was at hand, he alter'd his mind, and was for preserving the place to Darius, for he wanted neither arms nor provisions, nor any other necessities requisite to endure a long siege ; besides, his garrison was numerous, Memnon having reforc'd it, (when he fled thither after the battle)

with

with a considerable body of troops he had with him. Alexander therefore coming suddenly upon them with his incens'd army, he, at his very first arrival, possess'd himself of the outward town, as they call it, for the townsmen and soldiers (that the strength of the place might not be too much scatter'd) had retir'd into the inner town, resolving there to wait for the succour of their friends; who, as they were inform'd, were not far off. But these hopes were frustrated by the seasonable arrival of the Macedonian fleet, under the command of Nicanor, who had taken possession of the island Lade, that lies above Miletus; and, upon information that the enemy's fleet lay at anchor under the mountain Mycale, sailing into the Milesian harbour, he cut off all hopes of succour from the Persians to the besieg'd. Neither did the Barbarians offer to oppose him, notwithstanding they were so much superior to him in number of ships, for they had near four hundred sail, whereas Nicanor had not above one hundred and sixty.

While these things were doing, Glaucippus, the most considerable man of the town, was sent to Alexander, to desire that the town and harbour might be in common to the Persians and Macedonians; but he return'd with this melancholy answer, " That he
 " did not come into Asia to receive what others
 " would bestow on him, but that every body should
 " be contented with what he spar'd them; that they
 " ought to know it was their duty to resign all their
 " fortunes to their superior, or be ready the next
 " morning to decide the matter by the sword." But the townsmen repell'd the first shock of the enemy with a great deal of gallantry, killing amongst the rest, the two sons of Hellenica, who was Alexander's nurse, and sister to Clitus, who had with so much
 braver

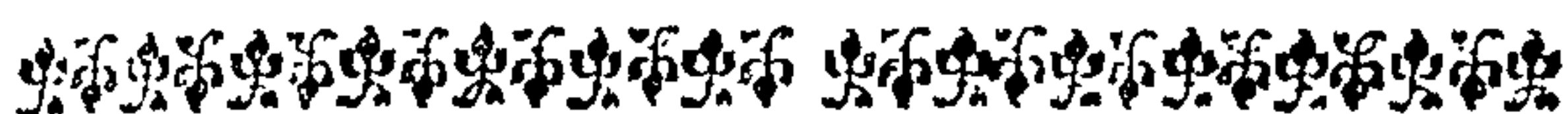
bravery sav'd the king's life. Hereupon the Macedonians being inrag'd with grief and anger, and having planted their machines, they soon made a considerable breach in the wall, and were just ready to storm the town, when the besieged perceiving the enemies gallees in the port, were seiz'd with a fresh terror, and some of them betook themselves to the opposite little island for safety upon their bucklers, others got into little boats, and endeavour'd to imitate them, but were taken by the enemies ships at the very mouth of the harbour. Alexander having thus made himself master of the town, dispatch'd ships after those who had gain'd the island, providing them with ladders, whereby the soldiers might overcome the difficult ascent of the coast, as if they were scaling the walls of a city. But observing the Greeks that were in the enemies pay, (who did not in all exceed three hundred men) ready to undergo the last extremities, he took compassion of them on account of their bravery; and seeing them so constant to those that hir'd them, as to venture perishing for their fidelity, he pardon'd them, and took them into his service.

As for those Barbarians he found in the town. he made them all slaves; granting at the same time to the surviving Milesians, their liberty, in consideration of the ancient glory of their city: for Miletus was once so rich and powerful, as to have no less than seventy colonies in the neighbouring seas; moreover, it was celebrated on the score of several of its gallant citizens, who had in the sacred combats often won the prize, and thereby advanc'd the glory of their country. For these kind of victories were (according to the practice of the Greeks) esteem'd the greatest ornaments of virtue. This made Alexander, when he beheld the great number of statues that were erected
on

on this account, ridicule the custom with a biting reproach ; for he ask'd them, “ Where were the strong
 “ arms of those men, when they receiv'd the Persian
 “ yoke ? ” For, as he was a gallant man, and judg'd
 of all things that were subservient to war, he thought
 it a shameful thing to waste that strength that ought
 to be employ'd only in battles of moment, in the
 fruitless diversion of the rabble, out of a vain and
 unprofitable ostentation. In the mean time the sol-
 diers who had enter'd the town by mere force, pillag-
 ed every thing before them, and were come to the
 temple of Ceres ; and as some of them broke into it,
 with a design to plunder it, a sudden fire that came
 from the inner parts, struck the sacrilegious wretches
 blind. Here Alexander found some monuments of his
 progenitors, and particularly a fountain, whose water,
 tasted at the spring-head, were salt, and yet were
 fresh when they ran into streams. The Milesians call
 it Achilles's fountain ; and it is rumour'd, that that
 hero bath'd himself near it, after he had vanquish'd
 Strambelus, Telamon's son, who was bringing suc-
 cour to the Lesbians. The Milesians had with them
 also the oracle of Apollo Didymeus, much celebrated
 for its riches and fame. Seleucus (who was very
 powerful after Alexander) then consulted it, about his
 return to Macedon, and receiv'd for answer, “ That
 “ bidding adieu to Europe, he should embrace Asia.”

There was another thing that awaken'd the king's
 attention, whose curious genius was greedy of know-
 ledge, and was wonderfully delighted with novelty ;
 he was told, that a youth of Jassus, that is not far
 distant from Miletus, was lov'd by a dolphin, and
 that the fish knew his voice so well, that whenever he
 call'd upon it, and would be carry'd on its back, it
 readily receiv'd him ; whereupon the king inferring,
 that he was in Neptune's favour, made him his high-
 priest.

C H A P.



C H A P. VIII.

ALEXANDER after this manner made himself master of Miletus; and as the numerous fleet of Barbarians kept still hovering thereabouts, and out of confidence in their multitude, and superiority of skill in maritime affairs provok'd the enemy to battle, frequently presenting itself before the port where the king's ships rid; he sent Philotas with the horse, and three regiments of foot to mount Mycale, near which the Persian fleet lay at anchor; giving him orders to repel the enemy, if they offer'd to land, either to take in fresh water or wood, or any other necessaries. This reduc'd the Barbarians to the greatest straits, and kept them, as it were, confin'd in their port, without being suffer'd to land, or accommodate themselves with those necessaries they wanted. Hereupon they call'd a council, and steer'd towards Samos, where having taken in provision, they came back again to Miletus, and presented themselves before the harbour in order of battle. In the mean time five of the Persian ships perceiving several of the enemy's fleet in a certain port between the little island we before mention'd, and the road where the Macedonian fleet lay; made all the sail they could thither, imagining they should find them in a manner unmann'd, and consequently an easy prize; for they conjectur'd, that the major part of their men were taken up in many other different employments. But the king immediately putting those that were present
on

on board ten galleys, commanded them “to go and
 “meet the enemy.” Who being terrify’d both by
 the number of ships, and the unexpectedness of the
 thing, (finding themselves attack’d by those they
 thought to have surpriz’d) made off as fast as they
 could; however, one of their ships that was mann’d
 with Jassians, was taken, the rest being swift sailers
 regain’d their fleet: Thus the Barbarians were forc’d
 to leave Miletus without effecting any of the things
 they intended. Alexander considering now that his
 fleet was inferior to that of the enemy, and would be
 of no great use to him for the future, and besides
 that it was a great charge to him, resolv’d to dismiss
 it, retaining only a few ships with him to transport
 the machines and engines necessary in sieges; but
 Parmenio was of a different opinion, and advis’d the
 king to hazard a sea engagement, “since, if the
 “Macedonians were victorious, many advantages
 “would arrive therefrom; and if they were beaten,
 “they would lose nothing, since the Persians were
 “even now masters at sea, and it would be no very
 “difficult task for those that were strongest at land
 “to defend their coasts.” That his advice might
 the sooner prevail, he offer’d “to execute it him-
 “self, and to go aboard the fleet, and to expose
 “himself to any danger that the king should think
 “fit.” Moreover, his opinion was back’d by lucky
 presages; for some days before an eagle was seen to
 rest on the shore behind the king’s fleet. However,
 Alexander reply’d, “That his opinion was ill ground-
 “ed, when he flatter’d himself that so small a fleet
 “was able to encounter with so great a multitude
 “of enemies, and that it was not advisable to ex-
 “pose raw and unexperienc’d men to skillful rowers
 “and expert sailors; that tho’ he did not distrust the
 “bravery of his subjects, yet in sea-fights he was
 “sensible.”

“ sensible, that was but of little moment towards
“ obtaining the victory. That those actions were
“ liable to many dangers from the waves and the
“ winds, both which were, by the experience of the
“ pilots and rowers, either declin’d or turn’d to an
“ advantage : That a great deal depended even on
“ the very building of the ships ; That the Mace-
“ donians would in vain use their bravest endeavours,
“ since it would be in the power of the Barbarians,
“ either to battle them, or, if an accident happen’d,
“ totally to destroy them ; which was a thing of the
“ last consequence, as affairs stood, since all Asia
“ wou’d be animated and encourag’d, if in the be-
“ ginning of the war he should receive so great an
“ overthrow : That the generality of men were na-
“ turally of such tempers, as to expect the event of
“ things to be answerable to the pre-conceiv’d hopes
“ or fears from the first successes ; and that we may
“ not doubt of the truth hereof, with respect to Asia,
“ who will insure me that the Greeks themselves will
“ remain in their duty, if they find our felicity and
“ success once forsake us, which, to speak the truth,
“ is all they admire and venerate in us ? I must con-
“ fess, I look upon it to relate to my fortune, that
“ an eagle was seen behind my seat, and I take it
“ as an omen of prosperity. But then the augury
“ seems plainly to indicate, that we shall overcome
“ the enemy’s fleet by land ; for the eagle that pre-
“ sages the victory, did not rest upon our ship, but
“ on the shore, and so does not more expressly point
“ at the event than at the place of action. This is
“ certain, that if as we have begun, we continue to
“ possess ourselves of the maritime towns, the Per-
“ sian fleet will waste of itself, for it will neither have
“ recruits, provisions, nor harbour ; and if these are
“ remov’d, the greater their strength is at sea, the
“ weaker

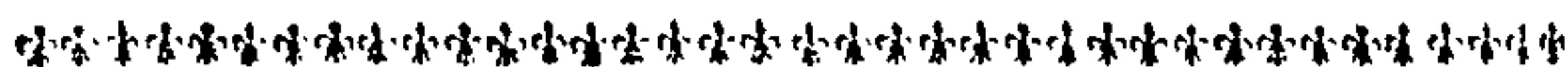
“ sooner they will be undone. By this means we
 “ shall make good the prophecy that was engrav’d
 “ on the copper plate that was (as we are inform’d)
 “ cast up by a fountain in Lycia, and signify’d that
 “ the Persian empire was hastening to its period.”
 Having therefore discharg’d his fleet, he left Pontus
 and its adjacent countries to his governors to subdue,
 and pursuing his intended designs he advanc’d towards
 Caria; for he was told, “ a great number of the
 “ enemy had resorted thither.” Indeed Halicarnassus,
 which was strong by its situation, and was besides
 provided with two citadels, gave some hopes that the
 Macedonian, who like a torrent bore down all before
 him, might be stopt there, as by a strong bank.
 There was great hopes also in Memnon, who was,
 with the utmost diligence, making all the necessary
 preparations for maintaining a long siege, for he had
 lately been made admiral by Darius, and governor of
 all the maritime coasts; and as he was a man of great
 subtilty, and an observer of the turns and favourable
 occasions of times, so he was very sensible that he
 exceeded all the Persian generals in the war; notwith-
 standing which, he was not rewarded according to his
 merit, for this reason only, that as he was a Greek
 by extraction, and had formerly been well receiv’d in
 the Macedonian court, there was some room to suspect
 him of treachery; he therefore sent his wife and chil-
 dren to Darius, as if he were solicitous for their safe-
 ty, but in truth by those pledges to convince the king
 of his fidelity. However, Alexander having enter’d
 Caria, had, in a little time, made himself master of
 all the places between Miletus and Halicarnassus, most
 of them being inhabited by Greek colonies, to whom
 it was his custom to restore their liberty, and the pri-
 vilege of living after their own laws, assuring them,
 “ he came into Asia to deliver them from oppression.”

Not

Not long after he insinuated himself into the favour of the Barbarians, by his courteous behaviour to Ada, a woman of royal blood; who being inform'd of his march into those parts, repair'd to him and implor'd his protection, desiring him to re-establish her in her kingdom; for Hecatomnus, king of Caria, had three sons and two daughters; Mausolus, the eldest, marry'd Artemisia; and Ada, the youngest daughter, had marry'd his brother Hidricus. Mausolus being dead, was succeeded by his sister and wife, according to the custom of the country, which allows those that are born of the same parents to be join'd both in marriage and dominion; but Artemisia dying with grief for her deceas'd husband, Hidricus enjoy'd the crown, and dying without issue, left the same to Ada; but Pexodarus, who was the only one left of Hecatomnus's sons, drove her out of the kingdom; and altho' he also was dead, she remain'd still depriv'd of her right, because Pexodarus had marry'd his daughter to Orotobates, a nobleman of Persia, that he might by his wealth and interest be protected in his new usurpation; so that his father-in-law being dead, he held the kingdom in right of his wife. Ada having therefore made her condition known to Alexander, and surrendering to him at the same time the strong castle of Alinda, obtain'd from him the approbation of her calling him son, and a promise of his speedy assistance to restore her to her dignity. This promise he perform'd; for after having taken Halicarnassus, he reduc'd all Caria to her obedience. In the mean time the rumour of this queen's courteous reception being spread all over that country, procur'd Alexander the affection of a great many towns; for most of them were in the hands of Ada's relations or friends, inso-much that they sent ambassadors to him with presents of crowns of gold, and solemn assurances, " That
" they

“ they put themselves under his protection and power,
 “ and that they would readily obey his command.”

While these things were doing, Ada was wholly taken up with providing the most exquisite meats for taste, and dress'd after the most curious manner, and sweet-meats of all kinds, and sent them, with the cooks and confectioners, to the king, as a present, thinking to shew her gratitude for the favours she had receiv'd from him, if she entertain'd him after his fatigues and toils, with the delicacies of the Asian luxury: But being too wise not to know, that intemperance is of pernicious consequence to the man that is employ'd in serious and weighty matters, he very civilly return'd her thanks, but told her at the same time, “ She had been needlessly solicitous for him,
 “ who had himself better cooks, with which his tutor
 “ Leonidas had formerly provided him, viz. a walk
 “ early in the morning to get him a stomach to his
 “ dinner, and a frugal dinner to prepare him for
 “ supper.”



C H A P. IX.

BY this time almost all Caria had submitted to Alexander, except Halicarnassus, the capital city thereof, in which there was a strong garison; wherefore concluding the siege would be tedious, he order'd
 “ provisions, and all the necessary machines for bat-
 “ tering the place, to be brought from on board his
 “ fleet,” and went and encamp'd with the foot at the distance of five furlongs from the town. But while the men were battering the walls of the place, near the gate that leads to Mylassa, the besieged made an unexpected sally; however, the Macedonians beat off
 them.

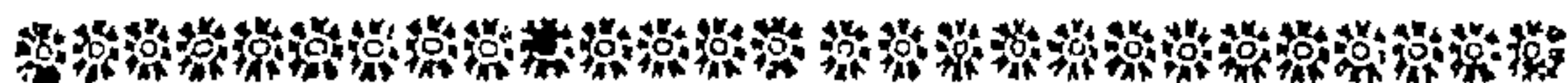
themselves with a great deal of bravery, and drove them back to the town with little loss. Some few days after, Alexander having had hopes given him, that the town Myndus would, upon his appearing before it, be delivered up to him, he took along with him part of the army, and march'd thither in the dead time of the night. But no body offering to stir, he commanded the heavy-arm'd soldiers to undermine the wall, for he had brought neither ladders nor machines along with him, by reason he did not go thither with an intention to make a formal siege. These men flung down one of the towers, and yet for all that made no breach they could enter at, for the tower fell after such a manner, that the ruins defended the same ground that the tower did while standing, and the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, and were reinforc'd by succours from Halicarnassus, which Memnon (hearing of the danger they were in) had sent them. Thus the Macedonian's attempt was frustrated. Alexander being now return'd to the siege of Halicarnassus, resolv'd first of all to fill up a ditch about thirty cubits broad, and fifteen in depth, that the enemy had made for the better security of the place; he therefore prepar'd three tortoises, under the protection of which the soldiers might with safety bring the earth, and what other materials were necessary for that purpose, and having fill'd the ditch, he order'd "the towers, " and other machines us'd in the battering of walls, " to be properly apply'd." By these means having made a sufficient breach in the wall, he endeavour'd to force his way into the town through it; but the enemy being strong in number, was constantly succeeded by fresh men in the room of those that were tired, and being besides encourag'd by the presence of their generals, omitted nothing that was necessary

for a vigorous defence. The day being wasted in a drawn fight, and Memnon imagining the enemy might be tir'd with the fatigue of the action, and so would be more negligent in keeping their guards, made a strong sally out of the town, and set fire to their works ; hereupon the Macedonians advancing to oppose them, while these labour'd to extinguish the flames, and the others to increase them. The Macedonians, though much superior to their enemy in strength and courage, and their familiarity with danger, yet were mightily press'd by the number and contrivance of the Persians ; and as the fight was not far from the walls, they were very much gall'd from thence by their engines and machines, so that the Macedonians receiv'd many wounds, which they had no opportunity of revenging. The shouts were great on both sides, each encouraging their own men, and threatening their enemy ; besides, the groans of the wounded and dying, together with the darkness of the night, fill'd every thing with horror and confusion, which was still increas'd by the clamour of the rest of the multitude, who, while their companions were fighting, were intent on the repairing the damage the walls had sustain'd from the shock of the engines and machines. At last, the Macedonians pushing bravely on, drove the enemy within the walls, having kill'd about one hundred and seventy of them, and among the rest Neoptolemus, who, with his brother Amyntas, had fled to the Persians. Of the Macedonians there did not fall in that action above sixteen, but there were near three hundred wounded, which may be ascrib'd to the night, in the darkness of which they could not decline the blows, nor avoid the random darts. A few days after, an accident, inconsiderable in itself, prov'd the occasion of a violent contention, which began between two
of

of Perdiccas's veterans; they were comrades, and had been drinking together, and among the rest of their discourse, they happen'd to enlarge on the gallant actions they had each perform'd, till at last they quarrell'd about the preference; upon which one of them broke out in this expression, "Why do we so fully so glorious a contention with empty and useless words? The matter is not who has the best tongue, but the strongest arm, and here is a fine opportunity to decide the same: If you are the man you pretend to be, follow me." They were both heated with wine and emulation, and therefore of their own accord took their arms, and advanc'd to that part of the wall that stands near that side of the citadel that faces Mylassa.

Their rash enterprize being observ'd by those of the town, caus'd some of the enemy to go out against them; they undauntedly stood their ground, and came to an engagement, and receiv'd those who came nearest them sword in hand, flinging their darts after those who retreated. But their bold attempt had not remain'd long unpunish'd from so many, who had, besides their number, the advantage of a rising ground; if a few of their fellow-soldiers, at first observing the danger they were in, had not come to their assistance, and afterwards, as occasion requir'd more and more, the besieged doing the same to succour their men. This made the success various, according as each party was superior either in strength or number, till Alexander himself coming up with those that were about him, struck a terror into the enemy, and drove them within their fortifications, and was very near entering the town at the same time with them; for the besieged being wholly intent on what pass'd before the town, the defence of the walls was carelessly minded.

towers were already beat down with the adjoining part of the wall, by the repeated violence of the battering rams, and the third was so shaken that it could not stand long against the mines. But by reason of the suddenness of the action, and that the whole army was not drawn out, this opportunity, however favourable, was lost. Alexander hereupon desir'd a suspension of arms, and leave to bury his dead ; notwithstanding that, according to the Greek notion, it was yielding the victory to the enemy, yet he chose rather to do it than leave the bodies of his men unburied. But Ephialtes and Thrasibulus, Athenians (who were then in the Persian service, and who had a greater regard to their aversion to the Macedonians than to humanity) openly declar'd, “ That
 “ such an indulgence ought not to be granted to such
 “ inveterate enemies ;” however, this did not hinder Memnon from representing, “ That it was altogether
 “ unbecoming the practice of the Greeks, to refuse
 “ an enemy the privilege of burying their slain ; that
 “ arms and force were to be us'd against enemies that
 “ made head against us, and that it was an unworthy
 “ thing to insult those whose fate had put it out of
 “ their power to do us either good or harm.” It is most certain, that Memnon, besides his other virtues, was remarkable for his moderation ; for he did not think it at all honourable, out of a virulent prejudice, to slander an enemy, and load him with invectives ; on the contrary, he strove to overcome him by bravery and conduct. This made him, when he heard one of the mercenaries speak with disrespect and petulancy of Alexander, strike him with his pike, and tell him, “ he did not hire him to rail at Alexander, but to fight against him.”



C H A P. X.

IN the mean time the besieged took all the care they could for their security, and rais'd a brick wall within that which was beat down; and instead of carrying it on in a strait line, they made it bend inwardly after the resemblance of the new moon. This task was soon finished by the help of a great many hands. The next day Alexander began to batter this wall, that he might with less difficulty beat it down while the work was yet fresh. The besieged took the opportunity of the Macedonians being thus employ'd, to make a vigorous sally from the town, and set fire to some of the hurdles with which the works were covered, and one part of the timber-towers: But Philotas and Hellenicus, who had that day the guard of the machines, hinder'd the fire from spreading, and Alexander appearing seasonably, struck such a terror into the minds of the enemy, that flinging away their torches, and some their arms, they fled back to the town with great precipitation. The advantage they had here from the situation of the place, enabled them to repel the force of the enemy with ease, and the wall (as we before took notice) was built so, that what part soever the Macedonians attack'd, they were not only oppos'd in front, but were also sure to be flank'd from each side thereof.

After this, the Persian generals finding themselves straiten'd every day more and more, and being well assur'd that the Macedonian would not go off

till he had made himself master of the town, held a council on what was necessary to be done in the present juncture of affairs: and Ephialtes, a person equally remarkable for the strength of his body, and the courage of his mind, made a speech on the many inconveniencies of a tiresome siege, and argu'd against
 “ expecting till they were altogether weaken'd, and
 “ unable to resist, and of course fall a prey, with
 “ the town, to the enemy;” and advis'd them,
 “ that while they had yet some strength, to engage
 “ the enemy cheerfully, with the choicest of the
 “ hir'd troops: That this his counsel, by how much
 “ it was more bold in appearance, was by so much
 “ the more easy to execute; for the enemy expecting
 “ nothing less than this, might be easily surpriz'd, be-
 “ ing altogether unprepar'd against such an accident.”
 Nor did Memnon (who otherwise us'd to prefer the cautious and wary counsel, to the specious and plausible in appearance) oppose him; for he consider'd, that although no great alterations should happen, yet as there was no hopes of any succour at hand, the issue of the siege would be fatal, he therefore did not think it improper, in so great an extremity, to try what so brave a man could do, since he seem'd, as it were, inspir'd to execute the boldest undertakings.

Ephialtes therefore having made choice of two thousand, out of the whole body of hir'd troops, commanded “ them to get a thousand torches, and
 “ by break of day to be ready with their arms to
 “ receive his orders.” Alexander, as soon as day appear'd, had advanc'd the machines again to the brick wall, and the Macedonians were intent on their business; but Ephialtes sallying out of the town on a sudden, order'd one half of his men with their torches to set fire to their works, and he follow'd in person with the other half to oppose those who should

should offer to hinder them in the execution of their design: But Alexander being inform'd of what was doing, quickly drew up his army, and having strengthen'd the succours with chosen men, he dispatch'd some "to put out the fire," while he himself attack'd those that were with Ephialtes; and Ephialtes, on his part, as he was of a prodigious strength, kill'd all those that engag'd him hand to hand, animating his men by his voice and looks, but most by his example. The besiegers were not a little annoy'd also from the walls, for the besieged had erected a tower thereon of a hundred cubits in height, from which (having conveniently planted their engines) they gall'd the enemy with javelins and stones. While these things were doing, Memnon likewise with another body of troops, made another sally, from a different part of the town, whence it was least expected: This caus'd so great a confusion in the camp, that the king himself was at a stand what measures to take. However, by his magnanimity and seasonable orders, he obviated all the danger, and fortune came to his assistance in a very proper time; for they who had set fire to the machines, were repuls'd with great loss, by the Macedonians that kept guard there, and the reinforcement he had sent them; and Ptolemy, the son of Philip, who was captain of the king's guards, having with him the regiments of Addæus and Timander, besides his own, receiv'd Memnon so warmly, that the Macedonians on that side had much the better of it, notwithstanding they lost in the action Ptolemy, Addæus and Clearchus, captain of the archers, and about forty private men. The enemy retir'd with so much precipitation and disorder, that in the hurry they broke down the narrow bridge they had laid over the ditch, and push'd those headlong down that were

upon it, of whom some were trod to death by their own men, and others perish'd by the Macedonians darts from the higher ground. A great many that had escap'd this calamity were destroy'd at the very gate of the town, for the inhabitants (being in the utmost confusion, and apprehending that the Macedonians would enter at the same time with their own men) over-hastily shut the gate, delivering up their friends to the fury of the enemy. In the mean time Ephialtes, who was no less formidable by his hopes than his despair, gallantly maintain'd the fight against the king's troops, and had made the victory doubtful, if the veteran Macedonians had not seasonably come to the assistance of their distress'd companions. These veterans, tho' in the camp, were exempt from all duty, except in case of necessity, notwithstanding they enjoy'd at the same time their salaries, and other premiums: and indeed they had deserv'd this honour by their brave behaviour under former kings, and even under Alexander, as having pass'd their whole life in military exercises. These men therefore observing their companions terrify'd, and declining the engagement, and looking about, as it were for a place to retire to, flew to their relief under the command of Atharias, and having renew'd the fight that began to grow languid, they forc'd the young soldiers, by reproaching them with their shameful behaviour, to resume their courage; then making a furious attack all at once, and out of emulation striving who should do the enemy most mischief, in a moment fortune turn'd to their side; Ephialtes, with the bravest of his party, was slain, and the rest were drove into the town; a great many Macedonians enter'd it at the same time with them, and the town was near being taken by storm, when the king gave orders to sound a retreat, either out of a desire to save the place, or else because
the

the day being in a manner spent, he apprehended danger from the night, and the ambuscades that might be laid for him, in the unknown parts of the city. This fight consum'd the chief strength of the besieged, wherefore Memnon having deliberated with Orontobates (who was governor of the town) and the other generals, on what was proper to be done, caus'd the wooden tower, and the arsenals where their arms were kept, to be set on fire in the dead time of the night, as also those houses that were near the wall; which soon taking fire, and the flames from the tower and arsenal (being blown by the wind) increasing, it made a dreadful conflagration: the bravest part of the inhabitants and soldiers retir'd into a castle built within an island, others got into Salmacis, another castle, so called from a fountain that is there, of great fame; and the generals sent the rest of the multitude, and all their most valuable things, into the island of Cos. Alexander being inform'd by deserters, and his own observation, of what pass'd in the town; altho' it was midnight he commanded the Macedonians "to enter the place, and put all to "the sword they should find promoting the fire, but "to forbear injuring those who kept themselves "within their houses." The next morning he took a view of the fortresses the Persians and hir'd troops had possess'd themselves of: finding they would require a long siege to reduce them, and that having made himself master of the capital city of the country, it was not worth his while to trifle away his time about them; he raz'd the town, and commanded Ptolemy, to whose care he had committed the country of Caria (leaving with him three thousand foreigners, and two hundred horse, for that purpose) to observe those castles, which were encompass'd both with a wall and ditch. Not long after, Ptolemy hav-

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ing join'd his forces with those of Afander, governor of Lydia, defeated Orontobates; and the Macedonians being enrag'd, and not able to endure so tedious a delay, apply'd themselves strenuously to the siege of the castles, and reduc'd them.

But the King, whose thoughts had already laid the scheme of taking into his conquests Phrygia, and the adjoining provinces, sent Parmenio with the bands he honour'd with the title of his friends, the auxiliary horse, and the Thessalians commanded by Alexander Lyncestes, to Sardis, with orders from thence, "to make an irruption into Phrygia, and get
" from the enemy provisions and forage for the army
" that was coming after," allotting him waggons for that use. Afterwards understanding that several of the Macedonians (who had marry'd a little before the expedition) impatiently desir'd the company of their wives; he gave Ptolemy, Seleucus's son, the command of them, and order'd him to conduct them home, that they might pass the winter with their wives. Cænos and Melcager, two of his captains, went along with them on the same account. This endear'd the king mightily to the soldiers, and made them more chearfully undergo the remote service, for they perceived he had a consideration for them, and reasonably hop'd they should now and then obtain leave to see their friends. At the same time, he commanded the officers "to be very diligent in rais-
" ing recruits during their residence in Macedonia,
" and at the beginning of the spring, to bring him as
" many horse and foot as they could, besides those
" they now conducted home." Here he observ'd, that his army was infected with the manners and customs of the Asiatics, and that there was in the camp a great number of Catamites, he order'd therefore a strict search to be made for them, and sent them

them into a little island in the Ceramick gulf. The place partook of their infamy, and to perpetuate the memory thereof, the town was called Cinædopolis.



C H A P. XI.

TH E S E affairs being thus transacted, Alexander continu'd in his first resolution of reducing all the maritime coast, and by that means render the enemy's fleet useless to them; and therefore having made himself master of the Hyparnæ by the treachery of the hir'd troops (who surrender'd the castle to him) he march'd towards Lycia. Here taking into his protection the Telmissenses, and having pass'd the river Xanthus; the town that bears that name, with Pinara and Patara, considerable places in that country, and about thirty more, submitted to him; so that having settled things well enough for the present, he proceeded on to Mylias, which is a part of the greater Phrygia, but the Kings of Persia had thought fit to join it to Lycia. While he was here receiving the fealty of the inhabitants, ambassadors came to him from the Phaselitæ, desiring his friendship, and presented him with a crown of gold, as a token of their kind reception of him; a great many towns of the lower Lycia did the same. The King therefore having sent proper persons to take possession of the towns of the Phaselitæ, and the Lycians, in a few days march'd himself to Phaselis. This city was then endeavouring to reduce a strong fort, that the Pisidians had rais'd within their territories, from whence they

F 6

did

did the inhabitants a great deal of mischief: but upon Alexander's arrival this fort was soon taken. He remain'd with the Phaselitæ some days to refresh himself and his army, the season of the year inviting him to do so; for it being then the middle of winter, the badness of the roads would have made his marches uneasy. Here having indulg'd a glass, and being in a merry humour, and beholding the statue that the people had erected to Theodectes, he went to it, and dancing about it, flung several garlands of flowers upon it; for he had contracted a familiarity with him, and receiv'd him into his favour, when they were both at the same time pupils to Aristotle. However, this jovial humour was soon interrupted by the shocking message he receiv'd from Parmenio. This general had taken up a Persian call'd Asifines, whom Darius had indeed sent publickly to Atyzies, governor of Phrygia, but with these private instructions: "That he should watch an opportunity to speak in private to Alexander Lyncestes, and promise him the kingdom of Macedon, and a thousand talents of gold, if he perform'd what was agreed between them;" for Lyncestes had formerly gone over to the Persians with Amyntas, and took upon him the treasonable office of killing the king.

He hated Alexander on several accounts, but particularly for having put to death Hieromenes and Arrabeus his brothers, for being privy to the murder of his father. And notwithstanding he himself was pardon'd, and loaded with honours, so as to be doubly indebted to the king; yet his natural cruelty was such, and his ambition of power so great, that he thought nothing a crime that was instrumental to his obtaining a crown. The thing being examin'd in council, the king's friends represented to him, "his
" excessi :

“ excessive good nature, which had made him not
“ only pardon a man detected in the foulest of crimes,
“ but heap honours upon him, even to the giving
“ him the command of the choicest part of the
“ horse. Who could he hope would be faithful to
“ him hereafter, if parricides not only went un-
“ punish’d, but were received into the greatest fa-
“ vour, and had the chiefest dignities, and most con-
“ siderable employments conferr’d upon them? That
“ it was necessary to redress in time, the error he
“ had been led into by his too great clemency; lest
“ if Lyncestes should be sensible that he was discover-
“ ed, he should stir up the inconstant temper of the
“ Thessalians to a revolt. That the danger was not
“ of a nature to be contemned, since there could not
“ be a greater imagin’d. Besides, that it would be
“ no less than slighting the deity’s care itself, who
“ was pleas’d after so remarkable a manner, to ad-
“ monish him of the treacherous designs against him.”

For the king, during the late siege of Halicarnassus, being laid down in the afternoon, to refresh himself after his fatigues and labours, a swallow, which is a bird remarkable for omens, flutter’d round about his head as he was asleep, making a considerable noise, and sometimes pitching on this side, sometimes on that side of the bed, chattering louder than is usual. But as the king was much tir’d, it did not altogether waken him; however, as it was troublesome to him, he brush’d it away with his hand. Notwithstanding which, the bird was so far from being frighten’d, that it even pitch’d upon his head, and did not leave off chirping, till having thoroughly waken’d him, he scar’d it quite away.

This accident was by Aristander, interpreted after this manner: “ He said the king was in danger from
“ one of his friends, but the treason would not re-
“ main

“ main undiscover’d ; the nature of the bird seeming
 “ to foretel as much, for it is more familiar with
 “ man than any other, and at the same time is a
 “ great chatterer.” Having duly consider’d these
 things, and finding Afines’s discovery to agree with
 the diviner’s answer, and moreover having been care-
 fully warn’d by his mother’s letter, “ to have a par-
 “ ticular eye upon this man,” he thought all farther
 delay might be of ill consequence, and therefore sent
 instructions to Parmenio, what he should do upon this
 occasion : for, as we took notice before, Alexander
 Lyncestes was gone along with him into Phrygia.
 Now lest by some accident or other the king’s design
 should be unseasonably betrayed, he would not trust
 it in writing, but sent by word of mouth, by a trusty
 and honourable person. Amphoterus, brother to
 Craterus, was pitch’d upon, who putting on a Phry-
 gian habit, instead of the Macedonian, and taking
 along with him some of the Pergenses for his guide,
 he came in disguise to Parmenio. Hereupon Alexan-
 der Lyncestes is seiz’d, and notwithstanding his punish-
 ment was for a long time put off, in consideration of
 his own and his family’s quality and interest, yet three
 years after, when Philotas’s accomplices were execut-
 ed, he was put to death likewise, sharing in their
 punishment, for having participated in their crime.
 Besides the detection of this plot against his life, the
 king moving from Phaselis, had soon another token
 of the deity’s favour and protection. He had sent
 part of his army to the town of the Pergenses, and fol-
 low’d himself with the rest thereof, along the coast,
 where the mountain Climax looks into the Pamphy-
 lian sea, and leaves but a narrow way to travel,
 even when the sea is calm ; but when this is tem-
 pestuous, the other is drown’d by the overflowing
 waters ; which frequently happens in winter, if not
 always.

always. But Alexander, who dreaded nothing more than delay, led his army through the rough, as well as smooth, with equal ardour and expedition. The south wind having blown for some days, had cover'd the ways with water: there fell at the same time great and frequent rains, as is usual when those winds blow. However, upon Alexander's approach, the north wind rose on the sudden, and dispers'd the clouds, and driving the waters back into the sea, open'd a passage to the Macedonians. Notwithstanding which, he was forc'd to wade through several unknown fords, which took his men sometimes up to the middle. At the same time that I allow Alexander's great assurance in dangers, to proceed from the undoubted greatness of his soul, yet I cannot but think it received some increase from the many presages and omens in his favour; since he thereby conjectur'd he was destin'd to perform great and noble exploits.

While he was yet in Macedonia, there appear'd to him a person of a figure more venerable than one of human extraction, advising him to follow him into Asia, to overthrow the Persian empire. When the king came into Phœnicia, he was put in mind of his dream, by the high-priest of the Jews, whose dress reviv'd in his memory that of the object he had beheld in his vision. For while Alexander was employ'd in the siege of Tyre, he had commanded the neighbouring kings and people to submit to him, and raise him soldiers. But the Jews, who were masters of the famous city of Jerusalem, excusing themselves, as being in alliance with Darius, rejected the king's friendship. He therefore being incens'd thereat, march'd into Judæa, with a design to punish the contumacy of that people. But the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to appease the king's anger, went out of
the

the town to meet him, with their wives and children, in a suppliant manner. The priests led the procession, being cloath'd with fine linnen, the people followed cloath'd also in white, and Jaddus the high-priest in his pontifical habit, was at the head of the multitude. The king admiring the beauty of this pompous procession, alighting from his horse, advanc'd alone, and having first ador'd the name of God that was engrav'd on a gold plate in the high-priest's mitre, he afterwards saluted the high-priest himself. The unexpectedness of the thing, struck all the spectators with amazement. And the Jews, who not only saw themselves freed from their imminent danger, but also taken into favour, contrary to their expectation, furrounded the king, praising and congratulating him, and offering up their prayers for his prosperity. On the contrary, the little kings of Syria, who were bitter enemies of the Jews, and had follow'd Alexander in hopes to gratify their eyes with the punishment of their foes, were so astonish'd, that they in a manner doubted, whether what they beheld was reality, or whether their senses were impos'd upon by a dream; nay, the Macedonians themselves were not less surpriz'd at the unusual spectacle; insomuch that Parmenio approaching the king, took the liberty to ask him, "Why he shew'd
 " so much respect to foreign ceremonies, since to receive it from so vile a nation, were unworthy to
 " great a king?" Hereupon Alexander told him his dream.

After which, he enter'd into the town, and in their most beautiful temple offer'd sacrifices to God according to the received custom of the place, bestowing on it many noble presents. Here he saw also their sacred books, which contain'd several ancient prophecies: among which, there was this, that Tyre should

should yield to the Macedonians, and that the Persians should be overcome by a Greek. He looking upon himself to be the person meant therein, granted the Jews “the liberty of living both at home and abroad, “according to their own customs and laws: and “because their land lies untill’d every seventh year, “he ordain’d that they should be freed from that “proportion of their taxes.” He was mightily taken also with the nature of the country, which (besides the other fruits which it produces in as plentiful a manner as any other) alone affords the balm-juice. Alexander made Andromachus governor of these provinces, whom the Samaritans (the Jews mortal enemies) barbarously murder’d a little time after. But these things were transacted after the reduction of Tyre and Gaza, tho’ we lay hold of this occasion to relate them before-hand.



C H A P. XII.

ALEXANDER having pass’d the narrow way that lies along the Pamphylian sea; upon his march from Pergæ, was met on the road by ambassadors from the Aspendii, desiring they might not be compell’d to receive a garrison, promising in consideration of that exemption, fifty talents towards the soldiers pay, and as many horses as they us’d to maintain by the way of tribute for the king of Persia. From thence the king advanc’d to the Sidetæ, who are seated near the river Melas; they are of the race of the Cumæans of Æolia, but are barbarous in their speech, having lost their Greek; not by length of time,

time, as it often happens, but they say, that their ancestors at their first coming into those parts, on the sudden forgot their native language, and spoke on till then unknown.

Having taken possession of Side, which was the metropolis of Pamphylia, he was marching towards Syllium, a town strong by its situation, and provided with a numerous garrison of foreigners and neighbouring Barbarians. In consideration whereof, and because he was inform'd that the Aspendii had revolted, he alter'd his course, and march'd to Aspendus. The inhabitants were so mightily surpriz'd at the sudden arrival of the Macedonians; that forsaking their houses, they retir'd into the citadel. So that Alexander taking possession of the empty town, encamp'd under the castle; and as he had with him very able engineers, he by the sight of his preparations to attack them, oblig'd them to sue for peace on their first terms. Nothing could happen more to Alexander's wish (who had greater designs in view) than that he was not stop't in his career by a long siege, for the place was no way contemptible. However, that the revoltors might not go altogether unpunish'd, he required the most considerable of the citizens to be deliver'd to him as hostages; and as the tax of money that had been first impos'd, was not yet paid, he now impos'd upon them double that sum. He also added, that they should obey the governour he set over them, and pay a yearly tribute to the Macedonians; and as for the territory, from whence they had driven some of their neighbours by force, they were to be determined in that point by the law.

Having perform'd these things, he took the road that leads to the town of the Pergenses, and from thence march'd into Phrygia. But in his march that way, he was oblig'd to pass through a very strait and narrow lane,

lane, form'd by two mountains that almost join to one another, near Telmissus a town belonging to the Pisidians. The entrances into this lane are so strait, that they may be compar'd to gates: here the Barbarians had posted themselves, resolving to dispute Alexander's passage. But he presently caus'd his army to encamp at the very entrance, concluding (what afterwards happen'd) that the Telmissenses, seeing the tents pitch'd, would imagine the danger to be delay'd, and so would not long remain in those straits, but leaving a competent number of men to guard them, would retire into the town. Alexander therefore laying hold of this opportunity, order'd the archers and slingers to advance, as also those of the heavy-arm'd troops that were least encumbr'd; and having beat off those that guarded the pass, he went and encamp'd before the town. Here ambassadors came to him from the Selgeneses, who (out of their inveterate hatred to the Telmissenses, altho' of the same nation) offer'd their friendship and assistance to the king. He having receiv'd them very graciously, that he might not waste his time in the siege of one place, he went and encamp'd before Sagalassus, which is a strong place, and was well provided with the flower of their forces for its defence; for tho' all the Pisidians are warlike and brave, yet the Sagalassenses are esteem'd the stoutest of them all. These being reinforce'd with troops from the Telmessenses, their allies, and having more confidence in their own courage, than in their walls, had drawn up their army on a neighbouring hill, and by reason of the advantage they had of the ground, they repuls'd the light-arm'd forces Alexander had sent against them: however, the Agrians made an obstinate resistance, and seem'd to be encourag'd by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, and the king's presence, whom
they

they beheld before the colours. The soldiers labour'd under great difficulties while they forc'd their way up the hill; but as soon as they had got a little firmer footing, they easily dispers'd the multitude of mountaineers that were but half arm'd. There fell in this action, of the Macedonians, Cleander, who was a captain, and about twenty private men: of the Barbarians, five hundred were slain; the rest sav'd themselves by flight, and the knowledge of the country. The King pursu'd them as fast as troops so encumber'd with arms, possibly could, and at the same time made himself master of their town. He carry'd his arms against the other strong places of Pisidia, of which he reduc'd some by force, others he receiv'd by composition. He raz'd Telmissus, for the obstinacy of its inhabitants, whom he depriv'd of their liberty; and a little after, he united them, with some other cities of Pisidia, to the government of Celænæ. Alexander having thus quieted these bold people, continu'd his march into Phrygia, by the lake Ascanius, whose waters naturally come to a concretion, and so save those who live within its neighbourhood the trouble of going farther for salt.

While these things were doing, Memnon having got together the scatter'd remains of his army, resolv'd to carry the war into Greece and Macedonia, and by that diversion, force Alexander to leave Asia. For Darius now put all his hopes in him alone, seeing he had by his bravery and conduct kept the conqueror so long in play at Halicarnassus; he therefore made him Generalissimo of all his forces and sent him a vast sum of money. Memnon by this help, having hir'd as many troops as he could, sail'd up and down the seas without opposition, his fleet consisting of three hundred ships. He now took into serious consideration, what could either favour or cross his designs:

signs: and having made himself master of those places that were less carefully guarded, (among which was Lampfacus) he attack'd the islands which the Macedonians could not succour for want of a fleet, notwithstanding they were masters on both sides the continent.

The great divisions that reign'd among the people was of mighty advantage to Memnon in his undertaking; for as some were in Alexander's interest on account of their liberty, which he had restor'd to them; there were others, who, having got together great riches under the Persians, preferr'd their own private power, under their old masters, to a general equality in a free republick. This made Athenagoras and Apollonides, (who were two of the most considerable men of the isle of Chios) having communicated their design to Phisnus and Megareus, and others of their faction, invite Memnon thither. Thus Chios was taken by treachery, where having left a sufficient garrison, the administration of affairs was by him put into the hands of Apolonides and his associates.

From thence sailing to Lesbos he with small opposition made himself master of Antissa, Pyrrha, and Erebus. He establish'd Aristonicus in the regency of Methymna, and reduc'd the whole island, except the famous city of Mitylene which held out a considerable time, and was not taken by Memnon himself: for when he had rais'd a great many works about the town, had shut up the fort, and dispos'd his ships in proper places, to cut off all succour from the place; he was seiz'd with the plague, and so frustrated all the hopes of the Persians, to their irreparable damage. But when he found he was near his end, he resign'd his command to Pharnabazus his sister's son, whom he had by Artabazus, till Darius being inform'd of his death,

death, should provide otherwise. Pharnabafus therefore dividing the duties of the siege with Autophrates, the admiral, so streighten'd the besieg'd, that they surrender'd upon the following conditions :
 “ That the garrison should be permitted to march
 “ off unmolested : That the pillars on which were engrav'd the terms of their allegiance with Alexander
 “ should be flung down ; and swearing allegiance to
 “ Darius, they should call home half of those who
 “ were banish'd.” But the Persians did not observe all the articles of capitulation ; for having introduc'd soldiers to the town, they made Lycomedes the Rhodian, governour ; assigning the regency of the country to Diogenes, on the account of his zeal, who had been banish'd for the Persian interest. After this they extorted money from the richest inhabitants, notwithstanding which the common tax of the Mytilenians was not at all lessened.



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K III.

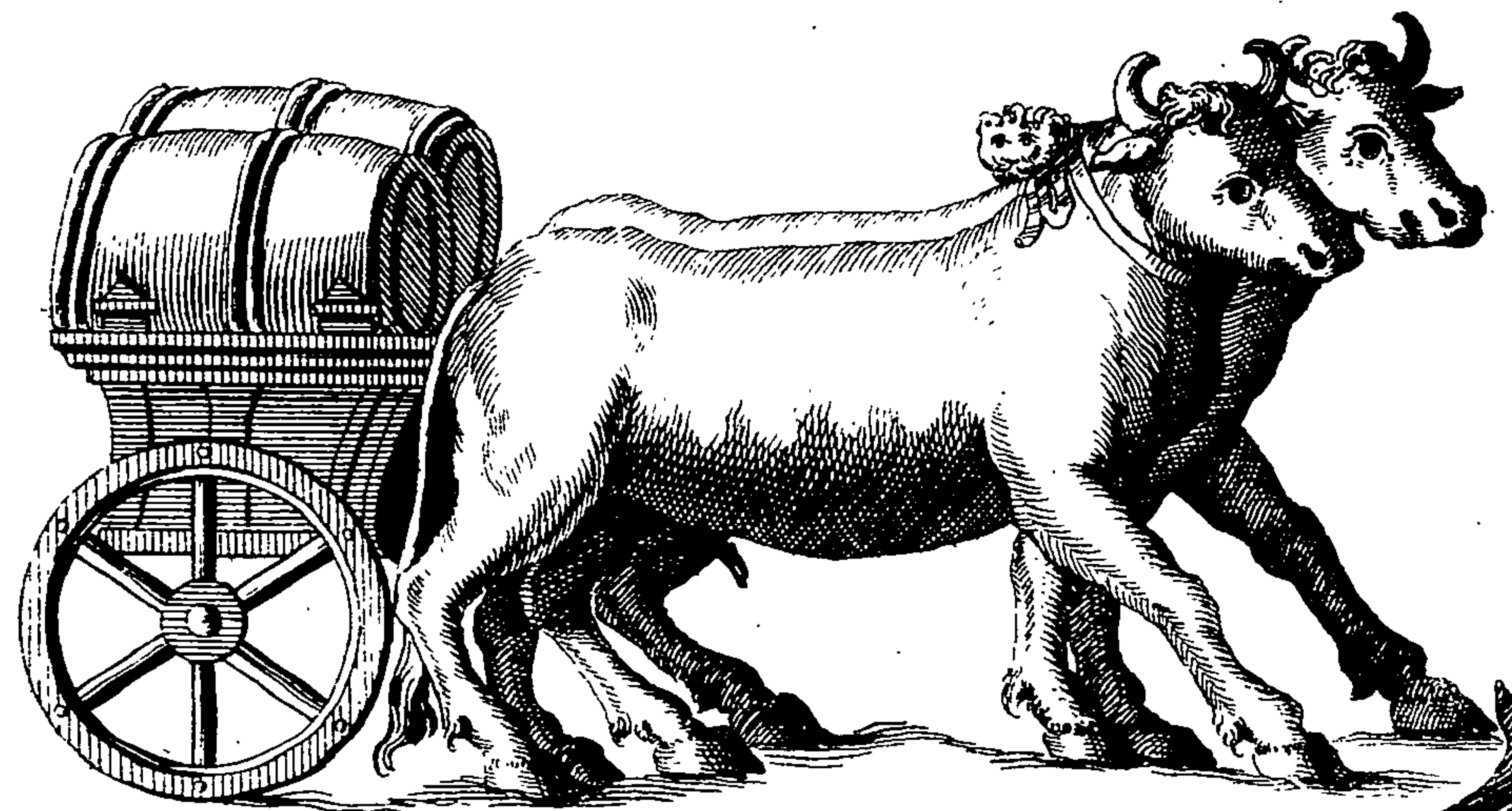
C H A P. I.

IN the mean time Alexander sent Cleander with a considerable sum of money to raise recruits in Peloponnesus; and having settled the affairs of Lycia and Pamphilia, advanced his army before the town Cælanæ, which the river Marsias at that time divided in two. This river was much celebrated by the fabulous relations of the Greek poets. Its spring rises out of the top of a hill, and falls afterwards upon a rock beneath it, with a mighty noise, from whence it diffuses itself, and waters the neighbouring plains, being very clear, as carrying along with it nothing but its own pure streams. Its colour therefore resembles that of the canal sea, and thereby gave birth to the fiction of the poets, who pretend,

I " That

“ That the nymphs, being in love with this river,
“ took up their residence in that rock.” So long as
it runs within the walls, it retains its own name ; but
when it leaves the town, it grows larger, and be-
comes more rapid in its course, and is then call’d the
Lycus. Alexander finding the town deserted by its
inhabitants, enter’d it ; and was preparing to attack
the citadel into which they had fled : He therefore
sent a herald to them, to let them know, that if they
did not surrender the place, “ they must expect the
“ utmost severities.” But they taking the herald into
a high tower, strong both by nature and art, bid him
“ take a view of its height, and acquaint Alexander,
“ that the inhabitants and he had different notions of
“ its fortifications : They knew they could not be
“ reduc’d ; but however, let the worst come that
“ could, they were ready to lay down their lives
“ for their loyalty.” Yet when they saw they were
formally besieg’d, and that every thing grew scarcer
with them from one day to another ; “ they agreed
“ upon a truce for two months, in which time, if
“ they receiv’d no relief from Darius, they promis’d to
“ surrender ;” and accordingly (no succour appear-
ing) they submitted to the king, on the day prefix’d
for that purpose. About this time ambassadors came
to him from the Athenians, to desire that those of
their city, who had been made prisoners at the bat-
tle near the river Granicus might be restor’d to them.
Alexander made answer, “ That not only their citizens,
“ but likewise all the other Greeks should be restor’d
“ to their respective cities, as soon as the Persian war
“ was ended.” However, as he long’d to come to an
engagement with Darius, who, as he was inform’d,
had not yet pass’d the Euphrates ; he from all parts
summon’d his troops, that he might be able with his
whole strength, to come to a decisive action with him.

NODVS JVG1.





He was then leading his army through Phrygia; which abounded with villages, but had not many towns. Yet there was one still in request called Gordium, the ancient seat of Midas. The river Sangarius runs through it, and it is seated between the Pontick and Cilician seas. These seas almost unite, having but a small neck of land to part them, each sea striving to encroach upon the land, and reducing it into a narrow straight. This land as it joins to the continent, and as it is almost surrounded with water, seems to represent an island, there being no more than a slender partition to hinder the two seas from joining. Alexander, having made himself master of the town, went into Jupiter's temple: where they shew'd him Gordius's chariot, who was father to Midas. This chariot in outward appearance differ'd very little from the common sort. But there was one thing in it very remarkable, which was a cord so mysteriously ty'd into knots, so artfully interwoven, one within the other, that no body could find out where they began, nor where they ended: the inhabitants giving him to understand, "That the oracle
" had declar'd that he that could untie that knot
" should conquer Asia," he was mighty desirous to fulfil the prophecy. The king was then surrounded with a great many Phrygians and Macedonians: those impatiently waited for the event, and these were full of concern for the rash undertaking of their prince: for the series of knots was so perplex'd, that neither reason nor sense could direct him in the discovery either of its beginning or end. Hereupon the king, being apprehensive that his failing in this point might be look'd upon as ominous, after a long and fruitless struggle with the intricacy of the knots, broke out into this expression, "That it was not very material
" how they were unty'd;" so taking his sword he cut

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them all asunder, and by that means either eluded or fulfill'd the prophecy.

Alexander being now resolv'd to attack Darius where-ever he was, that he might leave all things in safety behind him, he gave to Amphoterus the command of his fleet, on the coast of the Hellespont; and declar'd Hegelochus general of the land-forces, giving them orders to drive out the Persian garrisons from Lesbos, Chios, and Cos, and order'd them five hundred talents for the said uses: he sent at the same time to Antipater, and the other governors of the Greek cities, six hundred talents. He also order'd the confederates to furnish out a fleet to guard the Hellespont, as they were oblig'd by treaty. For the king was not yet inform'd of Memnon's death, who was then the chiefest of his care, being well assur'd that he should meet nothing to stop him, unless it was through his means.

Alexander was by this time come to the town Ancyra, where having muster'd his army, he enter'd Paphlagonia; which border'd upon the Eneti, from whence some are of opinion the Venetians are descended. All this country readily submitted to the king; and having given him pledges for their future loyalty, they obtain'd an exemption from tribute, it appearing they had not paid any even to the Persians. He gave Calas the government of this country, and march'd himself into Cappadocia, taking with him the new levies that were lately come from Macedonia.



C H A P. II.

BUT Darius receiving the news of Memnon's death, was no less griev'd thereat than the importance of the thing requir'd; and hereupon laying aside all other hopes, resolv'd to decide the matter in person: for he blam'd the conduct of all his generals, concluding that most of them had been negligent, but that they were all unfortunate. Having therefore form'd a camp near Babylon, that they might enter upon the war with greater courage, he drew all his forces together in sight of the city: where having intrench'd such a space of ground as would conveniently hold ten thousand men, after Xerxes method, he took a list of the number of his army. From the rising of the sun till night, they kept moving into this intrench'd ground, according to their respective rolls, and from thence they were distributed in the plains of Mesopotamia.

The multitude of his horse and foot was almost innumerable, and yet in appearance they seem'd to be still more than they really were. Of Persians there were one hundred thousand, whereof thirty thousand were horse. The Medians made up ten thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. The Barcanians consisted of two thousand horse, arm'd with two-edg'd bills and light roundish bucklers, and ten thousand foot arm'd after the same manner. The Armenians had sent forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse. The Hircanians, who were in great repute
G 2
among

among those nations, furnish'd six thousand horse. The Derbices had fitted out forty thousand foot, most of them arm'd with pikes, pointed with iron, and the rest with staves harden'd in the fire; these were also accompany'd with two thousand horse of the same nation. From the Caspian sea there came eight thousand foot, and two hundred horse; these I add with them of the less considerable Asiatics two thousand foot, and double that number of horse. Beside these troops, there were thirty thousand Greeks in their pay, all chosen young men. As for the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians, and the other inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea, whose names were hardly known to him, the haste he was in would not permit him to send for them. It is plain from hence that he wanted nothing less than number of men.

The sight of this vast multitude was so grateful to him; and his nobles, according to their usual flattery, so swell'd his hopes; that turning to Charidemus an Athenian, and experienc'd soldier, and an enemy to Alexander on the account of his banishment (for he had been expell'd Athens by his order) he ask'd him, "Whether he thought him well enough provided to crush to pieces his enemy?" But Charidemus, unmindful of his own condition and the pride of kings, made this answer; "Perhaps, Sir, you may not be pleas'd with the truth, and yet if I do not tell it now, it will be in vain for me to tell it hereafter. This army of yours that makes so great an appearance, this vast multitude composed of so many different nations, and of all the eastern countries, perhaps may be terrible to the neighbouring people: the purple and gold with which it is adorn'd, the splendor and riches of its arms is such, that they who have not beheld it with their eyes, can hardly conceive an idea of it. But the Macedonian army is dreadful to behold, so

" it

“ are inur’d to protect their immoveable wedges, and
“ the united strength of their men with their pikes
“ and bucklers. Their phalanx is a firm body of
“ foot; the men stand in close order, and their arms
“ are in a manner united; they are so perfectly well
“ exercis’d, that they know how, (upon the least sig-
“ nal given) to follow their colours and observe their
“ ranks. The word of command is by all obey’d
“ at once: whether it be to repel the enemy, or
“ wheel about, or change the order of battle; the
“ the officers themselves are not more expert, than
“ the common soldiers. And that you may not
“ think they value gold or silver, they have learn’d
“ this discipline in the school of poverty: when they
“ are tir’d, the ground is their bed; they satisfy their
“ hunger with any thing they can get: they sleep
“ not after the approach of day. Now as for the
“ Thessalian horse, the Acarnanians, and the Æolo-
“ tians, they are an invincible body of men, and
“ shall I believe they are to be repuls’d with slings,
“ and pikes harden’d in the fire? No, Sir, there must
“ be an equal strength, and you ought to seek for
“ succour in that country that produc’d these men:
“ send therefore that gold and that silver, to hire
“ troops from whence they came.” Darius was na-
“ turally of a mild and tractable disposition, but high
“ flations generally taint good nature. Being therefore
“ unable to bear the truth, he broke through the laws
“ of hospitality, and commanded both his guest and sup-
“ pliant “ to be hurried away to execution.” How-
“ ever, even that did not hinder him from speaking his
“ mind freely; for he told the king, “ I have one at
“ hand that will revenge my death, and he that I
“ advis’d against will chastise you for slighting my
“ counsel: and you, that by the regal prerogative,
“ are so suddenly chang’d, shall be an example to
“ posterity,

G 3

“ posterity, that when men abandon themselves to
 “ their fortune, they even forget nature.” While he
 was making this public declaration, the executioners
 cut his throat. The king was afterwards touch’d
 with too late a repentance ; and acknowledging he
 had spoke the truth, order’d him to be buried.



C H A P. III.

THymodes, Mentor’s son, was a brisk young
 man : Darius commanded him to receive from
 Pharnabazus all the foreign forces ; for he had great
 confidence in them, and design’d therefore to make
 use of them in the war : at the same time he
 gave to Pharnabazus the same commission that
 Memnon had. Now as Darius’s thoughts were
 wholly taken up with the views of present important
 affairs, he had also in his sleep several dreams, that
 seem’d to foretel the event of things ; which whether
 they proceeded from solicitude and care, or that his
 mind had a real fore-knowledge of what was to hap-
 pen, is uncertain. He dream’d that the Macedonian
 camp was all on fire ; and a little after, that Alexan-
 der was brought to him in the same garb he was in
 himself, when he was chosen king, and that having
 rid through the city, he on a sudden vanish’d, horse
 and all. The judgments of the soothsayers were
 various, and kept him in suspense ; for some of them
 said, “ His dream portended good luck, by reason
 “ that the enemies camp was on fire, and Alexander
 “ having laid aside his regal robes, had been brought
 “ to him in the private dress of the Persian.”
 Others were of a clear different opinion, and said

“ That the brightness of the Macedonian camp was
“ a token of Alexander’s future splendor ; who they
“ conjectur’d would make himself master of Asia,
“ because he had appear’d in the same dress Darius
“ had when he was saluted king.” The present
anxiety had also revived past presages, as it usually
happens. “ Darius in the beginning of his reign
“ had order’d the Persian scabbard to be chang’d into
“ that form that the Greeks us’d ; hereupon the
“ Chaldeans prognosticated that the Persian empire
“ should pass into the hands of those, whose arms
“ they had imitated.” However, he was wonder-
fully pleas’d with the interpreter’s exposition, which
was spread among the vulgar, and with the represen-
tation of his dream ; and therefore gave orders for
his army to move towards the Euphrates.

It was an ancient custom among the Persians not to
break up their camp till the sun was rose, and then
the trumpet gave notice from the king’s tent ;
upon which the image of the sun was plac’d, en-
clos’d in a chrystal case.

The army march’d in the following order. The
fire, which they call sacred and eternal, was carry’d
before on silver altars. The Magi follow’d next,
singing verses after their country manner. These
were succeeded by three hundred sixty five youths,
cloath’d in scarlet, answering the number of the days
of the year ; for the Persian year also is divided into
so many days. After these came the chariot conse-
crated to Jupiter, which was drawn by white horses ;
these were follow’d by a horse of an uncommon
height and bulk, and was call’d the horse of the sun.
The drivers were adorn’d with golden wands, and
white habits. At a small distance follow’d ten cha-
riots embellish’d with a great deal of gold and silver
finely engrav’d. Next came the cavalry of twelve
G 4 nations,

nations, different in their manners, and variously arm'd. After these march'd those whom the Persians call the immortal, being ten thousand in number; among all the Barbarians none were more richly clad: they had gold chains about their necks, and their clothes were embroider'd with gold; besides which they had sleev'd jackets, finely adorn'd with pearl. At a small distance follow'd those who went by the denomination of the king's relations, consisting of fifteen thousand men. This band being dress'd almost after the manner of women, was more conspicuous for its luxury than for its arms. The Doryphori came next, who carry'd the king's apparel; these preceded the king's chariot, where his seat was so high that he was easily seen. Each side of the chariot was curiously set off with the images of the gods, wrought in gold and silver; the beam of it glitter'd with precious stones, and bore two images of gold, about a cubit high, one whereof represented Ninus, and the other Belus: between these was plac'd a sacred eagle of gold with its wings expanded. But the magnificence of the king's apparel exceeded every thing; his purple vest was neatly interwrought with white stripes, and his upper garment was most artfully embroider'd with gold, and was besides beautified with the representation of two hawks wrought in gold flying furiously at each other. His girdle was after the womens mode also of gold, at which hung his sword, which had a scabbard of pearl. The royal ornament for the head, is by the Persians call'd a Cidaris, this was encompass'd with a roll of a sky colour, with a mixture of white. The chariot was follow'd by ten thousand pikemen, whose pikes were plated with silver having their spikes tipp'd with gold. The king had on his right and left about two hundred of the noblest of his relations.

This

This body was attended by thirty thousand foot, who were follow'd by four hundred of the king's horses. After these, within the distance of one furlong, was Syfigambis, Darius's mother, in one chariot, and his queen in another : the troop of women that waited on the queens, was on horse back. Next came fifteen cover'd waggons, in which were the king's children with their tutors and eunuchs, which are not accounted contemptible in these nations. Then follow'd three hundred and sixty of the king's concubines, all in regal apparel. The king's money, which was carry'd by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, attended by a guard of archers, went next. After these came the wives of the king's relations and friends, who were follow'd by crowds of sutlers and camp slaves. The whole was concluded by the light-arm'd soldiers with their respective officers who brought up the rear. Such was Darius's army.

But he that beheld Alexander's would find it altogether different ; for neither the men nor the horses glitter'd with gold nor rich apparel, but with their iron and brass ; his troops were always ready either to halt or to march, being neither embarras'd with crouds, nor overloaded with baggage ; ever attentive, not only to the general's signal, but even the least nod of his head : he had room enough to encamp in, and provision enough for his army ; so that when he was drawn up in order of battle, he had no want of soldiers : whereas Darius, who was king of so vast a multitude, by the straightness of the place in which he fought, was reduc'd to the small number he had despis'd in his enemy.



C H A P. IV.

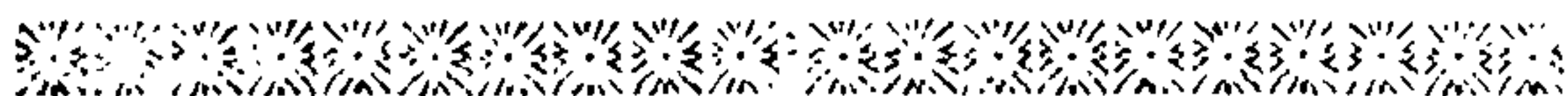
IN the mean time Alexander, having appointed Abistamenes governor of Cappadocia, march'd with his army towards Cilicia, and was already come to the place they call Cyrus's camp; this part of the country was so call'd from Cyrus's having encamp'd there, as he was marching into Lydia against Croæus. It was about fifty furlongs distant from the narrow passage that leads into Cilicia, which by the inhabitants is call'd Pylæ, being narrow straits, which nature seems by situation to have made as strong as if they had been fortify'd by the hand of man. Upon advice of this, Arfanes, who was governor of Cilicia, calling to mind Memnon's counsel at the beginning of the war (when it would have been of use) executed the same when it was too late; ravaging Cilicia with fire and sword, that the enemy might find it a mere desert, spoiling every thing that could any way be useful, that he might leave that country naked and barren, which he could not defend; but it had been much more advisable to have seiz'd the pass, and to have guarded it with a strong body of men, and to have made himself master of the mountain that commands the road, from whence it had been easy, without the least danger, either to have kept off, or to have oppress'd the enemy. But he having left a few to defend the same, went back himself to lay waste that country, that he ought to have preserv'd from depredations. This made those he left there (imagining they were betray'd) not so much as wait
for.

for the fight of the enemy, when at the same time a smaller number might have defended that place ; for Cilicia is hemm'd in by a ridge of craggy steep hills, which beginning at the sea on one side, and fetching a compass about, joins again to the sea on the other side. The back of the mountain where the sea presses in farthest has three very narrow passes, by the one of which you enter Cilicia : that part of it that lies towards the sea is champain, and has its plains water'd by several rivers ; of these Pyramus and Cydnus are the most considerable. The Cydnus is not so remarkable for the largeness of its stream, as for the clearness of its water ; for falling gently from its fountain-head, it is received in a pure soil, and has no torrents falling into it to disturb its gentle current. This is the cause that its waters are very clear, and at the same time mighty cold : for being shaded by the trees that grow on its banks on each side, it preserves its purity all the way, till it falls into the sea. Time had impair'd a great many ancient monuments in this country, which have been celebrated by the poets. Here were to be seen the ruins of the towns of Lyrnessus and Thebe, as also Tryphon's cave, and the Corycian grove, which affords saffron ; with the same of many other curiosities, which subsist now only in report.

Alexander having enter'd these straits, and consider'd the nature of the place, was seiz'd with an admiration of his own felicity, for he did not scruple to confess, “ That he and his army might have been
 “ knock'd on the head with stones only, if there had
 “ been but hands to have roll'd them down upon
 “ them as they pass'd under the mountain.” The way was so narrow that four armed men could hardly march a-breast ; besides, the back of the hill hung over it, and it was not only difficult on the score of
 G 6 its

its streightness, but also for its being in many places broken, by the several rivulets that flow from the bottom of the hills.

Alexander therefore order'd the light-arm'd Thracians to march before, “ and examine the narrow “ ways, for fear the enemy should lie there in ambuscade to surprize him.” He also sent a body of archers to possess themselves of the top of the hill, ordering them to march with their bows ready bent, admonishing them that they were not entring upon a march, but upon an engagement. In this order he advanced to the city of Tarsus, which the Persians were then setting on fire, that so rich a place might not fall into the hands of the enemy. But the king having sent Parmenio before with a detachment of light horse, to put a stop to the fire, sav'd the place : and understanding that upon approach of his men the Barbarians were fled, enter'd the town he had preserv'd.



C H A P. V.

TH E river Cydnus (of which we before made mention) runs thro' this city, and it was then the summer season, at which time the heat is no where more violent than in this country of Cilicia, and it was the hottest time of the day. The clearness of the stream invited the king to wash the sweat and dust off his body, which at that time was over-heated ; therefore he pull'd off his cloaths in sight of the army, (thinking it would still encrease their esteem for him, if they perceiv'd he was not over nice in the care of his person,

son, but was always contented with that dress that was cheap and always at hand) and went into the river : he was no sooner in it but a sudden horror seiz'd all his limbs, and he turn'd pale, the vital heat having almost forsaken his body. Hereupon his servants took him up, and carry'd him into his tent, he being like one expiring, and equally insensible.

The camp was now in the greatest affliction and concern, nay, almost in tears ; they “ bewail'd
“ the hard fate of their king (the greatest and most
“ memorable prince of any age) that he should be
“ in such a manner snatch'd away, in so promising a
“ course of success : and that too, not in battle, nor
“ by the hand of the enemy, but bathing himself in
“ a river. That Darius was now almost in the
“ neighbourhood, and would be a conqueror without
“ so much as seeing his enemy. That they should
“ be forc'd to march back, as men vanquish'd,
“ through those countries they had so lately sub-
“ dued : and as either they themselves or the enemy
“ had laid every thing waste in their march, they
“ should perish even by famine and want, in such
“ vast wildernesses, altho' no enemy pursu'd them.
“ Who would presume to be their leader in their
“ flight ? Who would dare to succeed Alexander ?
“ And admitting they made a good retreat to the
“ Hellespont, who would prepare a fleet to tran-
“ sport them ?” Then turning their pity again to
the king, they lamented, “ that such a flower of
“ youth, such a genius and strength of mind, their
“ king and their fellow-foldier at the same time,
“ should be, as it were, torn from them, after so sur-
“ prizing a manner.” In the mean time Alexander
began to breathe a little more freely, and to open
his eyes, and by degrees recovering his senses, to
know those about him ; and the height of his dissem-
per

per seem'd to abate, if it were but in this, that he was now sensible of the greatness of his sickness. The indisposition of his body now affected his mind, for he was informed, “ that Darius was but five days
“ march off of Cilicia.” It griev'd him to think,
“ that he should be deliver'd as it were bound into
“ the hands of his enemy ; that so glorious a victory
“ should be wrested from him, and that he should
“ die after an obicure and ignoble manner in his
“ tent.” Having therefore called together his friends and physicians, he spoke to them to this effect,
“ You see in what juncture of my affairs fortune has
“ surpriz'd me ; methinks I hear the noise of the
“ enemy's arms, and I that was the aggressor am
“ now provoked to battle : one would think that
“ when Darius writ those haughty letters to me,
“ that my fortune had been of his council ; but yet
“ in vain, if I may be permitted to be cur'd my own
“ way. My occasions do not require slow medicines,
“ nor timorous physicians ; nay, I had better die resolutely, than to recover my health slowly ; therefore if
“ there be any help or art in my physicians, let them
“ know that I do not seek so much a remedy against
“ death, as against the impending war.” This violent temerity filled all the standers-by with concern, every one therefore began to entreat him, “ that he would
“ not encrease his danger by too precipitant a haste,
“ but that he would commit himself to the care of
“ his physicians ; that they did not without cause
“ distrust untry'd remedies, since the enemy had
“ with money tempted those about him to his destruction (for Darius had publickly notify'd, that
“ he would give a thousand talents to whoever
“ should kill Alexander ;) that on this account they
“ did not believe any body would dare to make tryal
“ of a remedy, that by its novelty might give just
“ cause for suspicion.

C H A P.



C H A P. VI.

TH E R E was among the eminent physicians that had follow'd the king from Macedonia, one nam'd Philip, an Acarnanian by nation, a faithful friend of the king's, to whose care Alexander had been committed from his childhood ; he therefore lov'd the king with a particular tenderness, looking upon him not only as his king, but also as his foster-child. This man promised to give the king a dose of physic which should not be violent, and yet would work its effects soon, and not fail of curing his distemper. This promise pleas'd no body but him, at whose peril it was made, for he lik'd any thing better than delay : the armies were constantly before his eyes and he thought himself sure of the victory if he could but head his men. The only thing he dislik'd was, that he was not to take this medicine (for so the physician had pre-acquainted him) till three days were elaps'd.

While these things were doing he receives advice from Parmenio, in whom he chiefly confided, not to trust “ Philip with his health, for that Darius had corrupted him with the promise of a thousand talents, “ and the hopes of his sister in marriage.” These letters fill'd him with great anxiety and care ; he weigh'd within himself whatever either fear or hope could suggest to him. “ Shall I take this potion ? That in case it be “ poison, I may be thought to deserve whatever happens ? Shall I distrust the fidelity of my physician ? “ Shall I resolve to be oppress'd in my own tent ? “ However,

“ However, it is better I should die by another’s
 “ crime than my own fear.” These things work’d
 his mind different ways, yet he did not reveal to any
 body the contents of the letter, but sealing it with
 his ring, he laid it under his pillow. Having pass’d
 two days in this agitation of mind, the third was now
 at hand, which was the day prefix’d by his phy-
 sician for the taking his medicine, the which he ac-
 cordingly brought him. Alexander seeing him, rais’d
 himself upon his elbow, and holding Parmenio’s letter
 in his left hand, took the potion from him, and
 drank it off boldly ; and then gave Philip the letter
 to read, keeping his eye fix’d upon his countenance
 all the time, judging that if he were guilty, there
 would appear some symptoms of guilt in his looks.
 Philip having read the letter, shew’d more indignation
 than fear, and flinging down his cloak and the letter
 at the bed-side, he said, “ Sir, my life has always
 “ depended on your majesty, but I look upon it now
 “ to do so in a particular manner, since the sacred
 “ breath you draw must determine mine. As for
 “ the treason and parricide I am charg’d with, your
 “ recovery will sufficiently declare my innocence ;
 “ and I beg that when I have sav’d your life, you’d
 “ graciously grant me mine. In the mean time suffer
 “ the medicine to work itself into your veins, and
 “ compose your mind, that your friends troublesome-
 “ ly officious zeal have unseasonably disturb’d.” This
 speech not only made the king easy, but cheerful,
 and full of hopes. He therefore told Philip, “ That
 “ if the gods had given him the choice of an expe-
 “ dent to know how he was affected towards him, to be
 “ sure he would have pitch’d upon some other :
 “ however he could not have wish’d for any more
 “ certain than that which fortune now offer’d him :
 “ for you see that notwithstanding the letter I have
 “ deliver’d you, yet I have not been able to

“ perceiv’d, I took the potion you gave me, and I believe you are now no less solicitous for your own fidelity, than for my recovery.”

Having spoke these words, he gave him his hand; but when the medicine began to exert itself, the symptoms that ensu’d seem’d to back Parmenio’s accusation; for he was so far spent that he with much difficulty drew his breath. However, Philip omitted nothing that was proper, he apply’d fomentations to his body, and when he fainted, he restor’d him by the odour of meats and wine: and as soon as he perceiv’d him to grow sensible, he put him in mind sometimes “ of his sisters and mother, and then again of the “ approaching victory.”

But when the physick had wrought itself into his veins, there began to appear manifest tokens of his recovery; for his mind was first restor’d to its former vigour, and then his body regain’d strength sooner than could have been expected. For in three days time he shew’d himself to the army, which was overjoy’d to see him, and almost with equal eagerness beheld Philip, whom they caress’d, returning him thanks as to a present divinity. Besides the natural veneration this nation has for its king, it is not easy to express, how particularly they admir’d and lov’d Alexander. For in the first place, he seem’d to undertake nothing but with the immediate assistance of the deity; and as fortune sided with him in every thing, his very rashness always turn’d to his glory. Besides, as his years did not seem ripe for such great performances, yet as he acquitted himself worthily thereof, they were so far from lessening them, that they even added to their lustre. Moreover, there are many things which, tho’ inconsiderable in themselves, yet are very acceptable to the soldiery; as his exercising his body amongst them, his apparel that differ’d little from

from that of a private man, and his military vigor, by which endowments of nature, or arts of his mind, he made himself both belov'd and respected.



C H A P. VII.

AS soon as Darius was inform'd of Alexander's indisposition, he march'd with all the expedition so great a multitude would admit of, to the Euphrates, and having laid a bridge over the same, his army pass'd it in five days; for he desir'd to prevent his enemy in the possession of Cilicia. But Alexander having recover'd his strength, was now come to the town call'd Soli, which he made himself master of, and rais'd by contribution from it, two hundred talents, putting a garrison into the castle. Here he perform'd the vows he had made for the recovery of his health, and celebrated sports in honour of Æsculapius and Minerva, shewing thereby with what assurance he despis'd the Barbarians. While he assisted at these games, he receiv'd an express from Halicarnassus, which brought him the favourable news of the Persians being beat by his forces, and that the Minidians and Caunians, with several other people in those parts, were brought under his obedience.

The sports being ended, he decamp'd, and having laid a bridge over the river Pyramus, he came to the city of Mallos; from whence he broke up, and came to Castabala. Here he was join'd by Parmenio, whom he had sent to view the passage of the forest through which he was to march to the town Issus. Parmenio having seiz'd these passes, and left a sufficient number

ber of men to guard them, had also taken possession of Issus, which the inhabitants had abandon'd; from hence he advanc'd farther on, and drove the enemy from their holds in the mountains, and having secur'd the roads, as we said before, he return'd to the king, both the performer and the messenger of these successes. Upon this Alexander march'd his army to Issus, where he held a council to consider, " Whether he should advance any farther, or wait there
" for the coming up of the new levies that he suddenly expected from Macedonia. Parmenio was of
" opinion, that he could not pitch upon a properer
" place to give a battle in, since there the troops of
" both kings, would be reduc'd to an equal number,
" by reason the straits would not admit of a multitude. That they ought to avoid the plains and open
" fields, where they might be surrounded, and oppress'd by the inequality of number. For he did
" not fear so much their being overcome by the
" bravery of the enemy, as by their own weariness.
" Whereas the Persians in a most spacious place,
" would be constantly reliev'd by fresh troops." So wholesome a counsel was easily approv'd of, and therefore he resolv'd to wait there for the enemy.

There was at this time in the Macedonian army, a Persian named Sifines, who had formerly been sent by the governor of Ægypt to king Philip: this man being courteously entertain'd, and honourably promoted in Macedon, chose rather to remain there, than return to his own country; but upon Alexander's expedition into Asia, he accompany'd him, and was of the number of those the king confided in. A Cretan soldier having one day deliver'd him a letter seal'd with an unknown seal, from Nabarzanes one of Darius's lieutenants, he exhorted him therein, " to
" do something worthy his quality and merit, assum-

“ ing him, that the king would not fail to requite
 “ him for it.” Sifines being altogether innocent, he
 often endeavoured to shew Alexander this letter. But
 finding him always busy, and taken up with his pre-
 parations for the ensuing action, he waited for a more
 favourable opportunity ; but this delay gave a suspi-
 cion of his being ill inclin’d. For the letter was
 brought first to Alexander, who having read it, seal’d
 it with an unknown seal, and order’d it to be deliver’d
 to Sifines, intending thereby to try his fidelity. But
 he not attending on the king for several days, was
 look’d upon to suppress the letter out of an evil de-
 sign ; so that he was kill’d by the Cretans, no doubt
 by Alexander’s order.



C H A P. VIII.

BY this time the Greck mercenaries that Thymo-
 des had receiv’d from Pharnabazus, and in whom
 Darius plac’d his chief and almost his only hope,
 were arriv’d in his camp. These would fain have
 perswaded him “ to retire, and gain the spacious plains
 “ of Mesopotamia. If he did not approve of this,
 “ at least to divide his vast army, and not suffer the
 “ whole strength of his kingdoms to depend upon one
 “ single stroke of uncertain fortune.” This advice
 was not so disagreeable to the king as to his nobles.
 They urg’d, “ That there was no relying upon the
 “ fidelity of these men ; that they were brib’d to be-
 “ tray the army, which they would have divided for
 “ no other reason but that they might deliver up to
 “ Alexander

“ Alexander whatever should be committed to their
“ trust. Therefore the safest way were to surround
“ them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces
“ at once, for an example to all traytors.” But as
Darius was a religious prince, and of a mild disposition, “ he abhorr’d so barbarous a counsel, as that of
“ butchering those who had put themselves under his
“ protection, and were actually in his service. Which
“ of all the foreign nations, said he, would trust their
“ lives with me hereafter, if I should stain my hands
“ with the blood of so many soldiers? Besides, no
“ body ought to suffer death for giving weak advice,
“ since there would be no such thing as counsellors, if
“ their lives must be in danger for speaking their opinion. That they themselves were every day consulted
“ by him, and he heard their different sentiments,
“ yet he did not esteem them that gave him the most
“ prudent counsel, to be more faithful than the rest.”
Wherefore he made this answer to the Greeks,
“ That he thank’d them for the good disposition they
“ express’d, but as for his going back, he did
“ not think it convenient, since he should thereby
“ deliver up his kingdom as a prey to the enemy:
“ That war depended on fame, and he that retires,
“ is look’d upon to fly. As to the prolonging the
“ war, it was impossible, by reason the winter was
“ coming on, and there would be no means to subsist
“ so vast an army, in a country already wasted
“ both by himself and the enemy. That he could
“ not divide his forces, without acting contrary to
“ the practice of his predecessors, who always brought
“ their whole strength when they hazarded a battle.
“ And, in truth, that terrible king, who while he
“ was at a distance, was puff’d up with such a vain
“ assurance, when he understood he was near at
“ hand, of rash was become cautious, and lay lurk-
“ ing

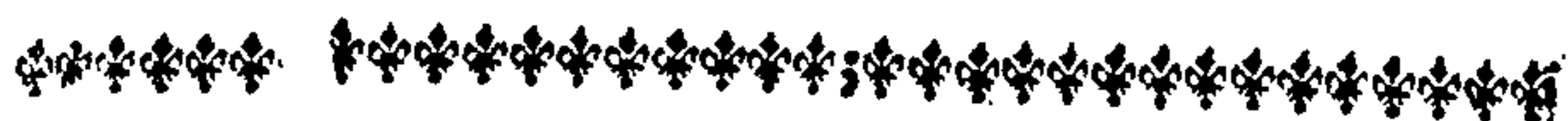
“ ing in the straits of the forest, like the cowardly
“ beasts, who at the least noise of the passengers,
“ hide themselves in the woods. That even now he
“ counterfeited being sick, to disappoint his soldiers.
“ But however, it should now be no longer in his
“ power to refuse fighting, for if he did, he would
“ seize him in the very den his faint heart had made
“ him repair to for safety.

This speech had more of ostentation in it, than of truth. Darius having sent all his money, and his most precious moveables, under a moderate guard, to Damascus in Syria, march'd with the rest of his army into Cilicia, his royal consort and mother following in the rear of the army, according to the custom of the country. His daughters also, and little son, accompany'd their father. Alexander, as it happen'd, came the same night to the straits that lead to Syria, and Darius to a place call'd the Amanicæ Pylæ. The Persians made no doubt but the Macedonians had abandon'd Issus which they had taken, and were flying; for they had intercepted some of the wounded and sick, that could not keep up with the army; and Darius at the instigation of his nobles, who were urg'd on by a barbarous inhumanity, having caus'd their hands to be cut off and fear'd, order'd them to be led about his camp, that they might take a view of his army, and having satisfy'd their curiosity, report to their king what they had seen. After this, Darius decamp'd, and pass'd the river Pinarus, with a design to pursue his enemies flying, as he thought them. In the mean time, those whose hands had been cut off, arrive in Alexander's camp, and inform him, that Darius was following them with the utmost diligence. The king hardly believ'd them; and therefore sent scouts to the maritime regions, to know for certain, “ whether Darius was there in person,
“ or

“ or whether one of his grandees did not make such
“ an appearance as if the whole army was coming.”
But by that time the scouts return’d, the vast multitude appear’d at a distance, and in a little time, fires were kindled all over the camp, which had the appearance of a general conflagration, the disorderly multitude dispersing themselves more loosely for the conveniency of their cattle. Hereupon Alexander order’d his army to encamp on that very ground where they were, being over-joy’d that he was come to a decisive action in those straits, a thing he had most wish’d for. Nevertheless, (as it usually happens, when the time of danger draws nigh) his great assurance began to turn into solicitude and care. And he now seem’d to distrust that fortune, by whose assistance he had been so successful, and did not without some reason conclude her to be very fickle, from the many advantages she had bestowed on himself. He reflected, “ That there was now but the space of a single night
“ between him and the event of so great a hazard.” Then again he consider’d, “ That the reward would
“ be still much greater than the danger ; and altho’
“ it was as yet doubtful, whether he should gain
“ the victory or not, however, this was undeniably certain, that if he perished, he should die honourably and with universal applause.” He therefore ordered the soldiers “ to go and refresh themselves, and
“ to be in readiness with their arms at the third watch.” In the mean time, he went himself to the top of a high hill, having with him several torches and lights, and there after the manner of his country, offer’d sacrifice to the gods of the place. The trumpet had now given the third warning, according to order, and the soldiers were ready either to march or to fight; and being commanded to march with the utmost diligence, they came by break of day to the
straits

straits they design'd to possess themselves of. By this time, they that were sent to get intelligence, came and acquainted him, that Darius was but thirty furlongs off: he therefore commanded the army to halt, and having put on his armour, he drew up his army in order of battle. The affrighted peasants came now to Darius, giving him to understand, that the enemy was at hand; who could hardly be persuaded that those he thought to pursue as fugitives, should dare to give him the meeting; hereupon his people were seiz'd with a sudden fear: for they were better prepar'd for a march than for battle; they therefore took to their arms in haste, and the very hurry they were in on that occasion, increas'd their terror. Some got up to the top of the hill, that from thence they might take a view of the enemy; others were bridling their horses: so that the discord that reigned in this army, which was not guided by the direction of any single person, fill'd all things with a tumultuary confusion. At first Darius had resolv'd with part of his troops to take possession of the top of the hill, in order to attack the enemy both in front and rear, appointing others to do the same on the side of the sea which covered his right, that so he might press upon them from all parts. Moreover, he had sent before twenty thousand foot with a band of archers, with orders to pass the river Pyramus (that runs between the two armies) and charge the Macedonians: and if they found that impracticable, to retire to the mountain, and secretly surround their rear. But fortune, that is superior to all reason, disappointed his prudent measures; for some, out of fear, did not dare to execute their orders, and others executed them to no purpose: for where the parts fail, the whole is confounded.

C H A P.



C H A P. IX.

AS for the main body of his army, it was drawn up after this manner ; Nabarzanes was in the right wing with his horse, and about twenty thousand slingers and archers ; here were also the thirty thousand mercenary Greeks commanded by Thymodes. These were beyond all doubt the main strength of the army, a body equal to the Macedonian phalanx. In the left was Aristomedes the Thessalian, with twenty thousand of the Barbarian foot ; behind them were plac'd the most warlike nations, as a body of reserve. The king being here in person, was attended by three thousand chosen horse, the usual guard of his body, and forty thousand foot, which were followed by the Hyrcanian and Median cavalry : that of the other nations was dispos'd on the right and left, as occasion requir'd.

The army thus drawn up, was preceded by six thousand slingers and darters. There was not the least space in the straights but was filled with troops ; insomuch that one of the wings extended itself to the mountains, and the other to the sea. The queen consort, with Darius's mother, and the rest of the women, were received in the center of the army.

Now Alexander drew up his army so that the phalanx, which is the chief strength of the Macedonians, was in the front : the right was commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio ; next to him were

Cænos, Perdicas, Meleager, Ptolemy, and Amyn-
tas, with their respective corps : on the left (that ex-
tended itself to the sea) were Craterus and Parmenio ;
but Craterus had orders to obey Parmenio. The
horse were plac'd as wings on each side ; the Macedo-
nians with the Thessalians on the right, and the Pelo-
ponnesians on the left. In the front of all was a body
of slingers intermixt with archers. The Thracians
likewise and the Cretans, who were also lightly arm'd,
advanc'd before the main army. The Agrians, who
were lately arrived from Greece, were commanded to
make head against those whom Darius had sent before
to take possession of the top of the mountain. The
king had order'd Parmenio, “ to extend his forces as
“ far as he could towards the sea, that they might be
“ at a greater distance from the hills, that the Barba-
“ rians had taken possession of.” But Darius's men
neither oppos'd the troops that march'd against them,
nor dar'd to surround them when they had pass'd
them, but fled at the very first sight of the slingers ;
which secur'd Alexander's army from being flank'd
from the higher ground, which was what he was
afraid of. They march'd thirty two in a rank ; for
the straightness of the place would not admit of a
greater number : but as the passage between the
mountains, by degrees grew wider and wider, and
stretch'd itself out into a larger space, the foot had
not only room to extend their ranks, but the horse
had also liberty to form their wings on each side
of them.



C H A P. X.

TH E two armies were now in sight of each other, but out of the reach of their darts; when the Persians first gave a confus'd but terrible shout, which the Macedonians return'd with advantage, altho' fewer in number, by reason of the repercussion from the neighbouring hills and woods, which multiply every sound that reach'd them. Alexander rid at the head of his army, making signs with his hand to his men, not to march too fast, that they might not be out of breath, and so might be able to charge the enemy with the greater fury. Then riding along the line, he made a different speech to the several troops, suitable to their different dispositions. " He " reminded the Macedonians of their experienc'd " and harden'd courage, and of their numberless " victories in Europe, and that they were come thi- " ther voluntarily under his conduct, to subdue all " Asia, and to extend their conquests even to the ut- " most bounds of the east. " That they were the " deliverers of the oppress'd, throughout the whole " world, and that having carry'd their victories as " far as Hercules and Bacchus had formerly done, " they were to give the law, not only to the Persians, " but also to all the nations of the universe. That " Baëtra and the Indies were to be theirs. That " what they had in view at present was but inconfi- " derable, in comparison of what the victory pro- " mis'd them. That the broken rocks of Illyricum, " or the barren country of Thrace, should no longer " be the reward of their labour; for now the spoils " of

H 2

“ of all the east were laid before them. That there
“ would hardly be occasion for their swords ; their
“ very reputation having already made such an im-
“ pression upon the fearful diffidence of the enemy’s
“ army, that they might drive them with only their
“ bucklers. Besides, he invoked his father Philip
“ the conqueror of the Athenians ; and refresh’d
“ their memory with their late conquest of Beotia ;
“ and the razing its principal city. He put them
“ also in mind of the river Granicus : of the many
“ towns they had either reduc’d by force, or receiv’d
“ by submission. In fine, he reminded them of all
“ their past conquests.” When he came to the
Greeks, he told them, “ that these were the people
“ that had made war upon Greece, through the in-
“ solence of Darius first, and then of Xerxes ; who
“ requir’d no less than all the water as well as land,
“ even to the drinking their very fountains dry, and
“ consuming all their provisions. That these were
“ they who had destroy’d and burnt the temples of
“ their gods, taken and plunder’d their towns ; in a
“ word, had broken through all the laws divine and
“ human.” As for the Illyrians and Thracians, who
were accusom’d to live by rapine, He bid them
“ behold the army of their enemy, how it glitter’d
“ with gold and purple, insomuch that they might
“ not be said to carry arms, so properly as a booty.
“ That as men, they had nothing to do but to rifle
“ those weak women of their gold ; and to make
“ an exchange of their craggy mountains, and naked
“ tracks, which were perpetually cover’d with ice
“ and snow, for the fruitful plains and fields of
“ Persia.

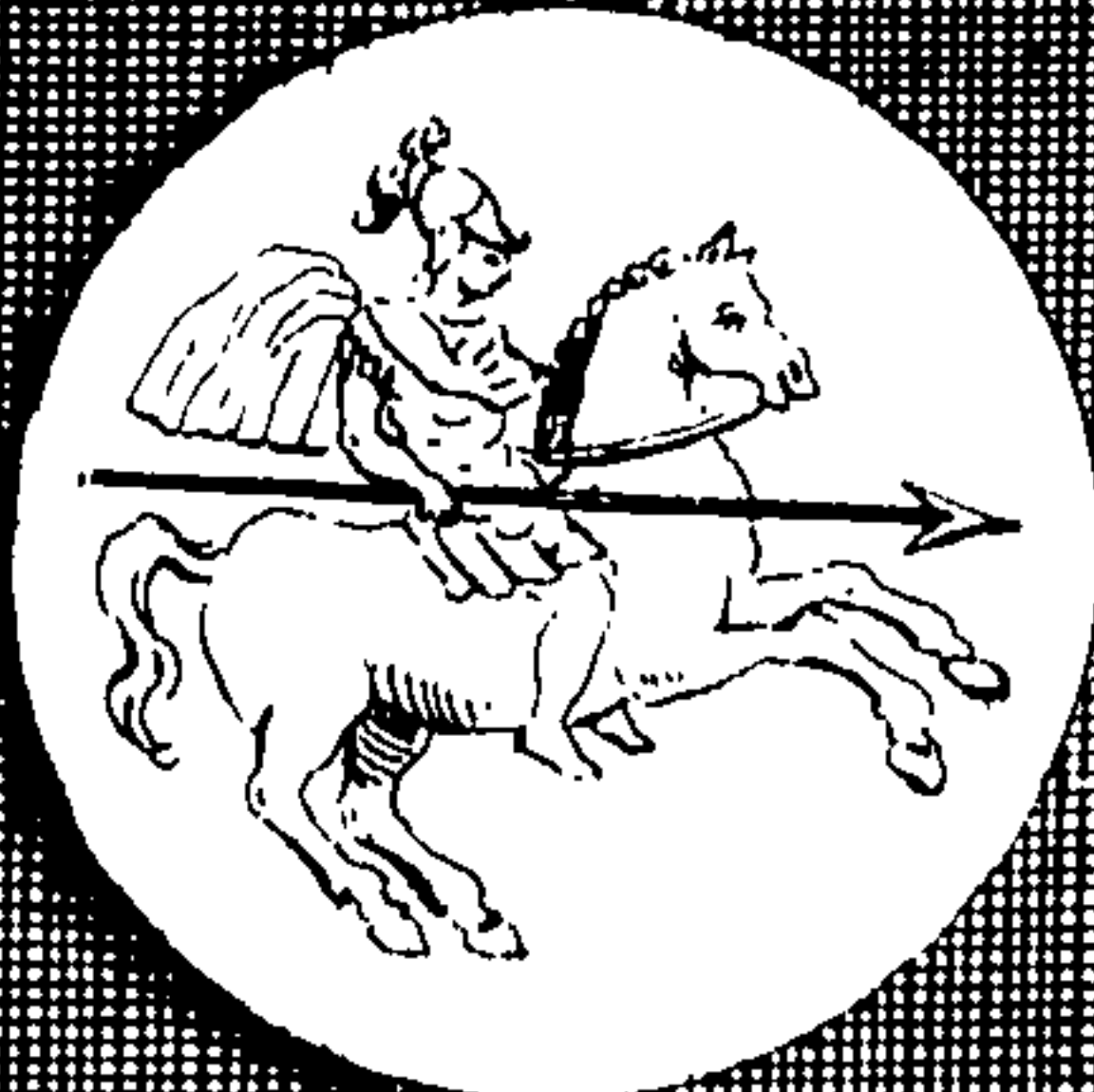


C H A P. XI.

BOTH armies were now within the cast of their darts, when the Persian horse gave a furious charge on the left wing of the enemy : for Darius was desirous to decide the matter by the horse, being sensible that the phalanx was the chief strength of the Macedonians, and Alexander's right wing was near being surrounded ; which he perceiving, order'd two squadrons to keep possession of the top of the hill, and commanded the rest to assist their fellows who were engag'd. Then having drawn off the Thesalian horse, he commanded their officer secretly to fall behind the army and join Parmenio, and vigorously to execute his orders.

By this time the phalanx was in a manner enclos'd by the enemy, but yet bravely maintain'd its ground. However, as they stood too close to one another, they could not cast their darts with freedom ; for those that were flung at the same time, meeting in the air, so intermingled that they fell with little or no force, very few of them reaching the enemy, and the greatest part falling on the ground without doing any execution. Wherefore they gallantly drew their swords, and engag'd the Persians in a close fight. Here it was that a great deal of blood was spilt : for the two armies were so near each other, that they parry'd their mutual thrusts with their swords, directing their points in one another's faces. Here the cowardly or the timorous were not suffer'd to be idle : for joining foot

to foot, they fought after the manner of single duellists, and kept the same spot of ground, till having slain their adversary they made themselves way; and even then a fresh enemy engag'd him that was already fatigu'd. Besides, the wounded could not, as is customary, withdraw from the fight, the enemy pressing upon them in front, and their own men in the rear. Alexander not only discharg'd the duty of a general, but also of a private soldier, and was ambitious of killing Darius with his own hand. For as he was so loftily seated in his chariot, that he was easily seen by all, it was a mighty encouragement to his own men to defend him, and at the same time no less a provocation to the enemy to attack him. This made Oxathres the king's brother, as soon as he perceiv'd Alexander's design, bring the horse that he commanded before Darius's chariot. He was remarkable for the splendor of his arms, as well as for his personal strength, and had a tender affection for the king, and distinguish'd himself very much in his defence, killing those who press'd on too rashly, and putting others to flight. But the Macedonians, who were also near their king, so encourag'd each other, that with him, they broke into the enemies horse. Here the slaughter was like a meer butchery. The noblest commanders lay wallowing in their blood round Darius's chariot, having had the satisfaction of his being witness to their dying gallantly for his defence: they all fell upon their faces, in the places where they fought, having all their wounds in the fore part of the body. Among the rest, were to be seen Atizyes, Rheomithres, and Sabaces the governor of Egypt, who had all commanded great armies, and round them lay heaps of foot and horse of an inferior rank. Of the Macedonians there did not fall many, but the bravest and forwardest among them;
Alexander



Alexander himself being slightly wounded in the thigh. The horses that drew Darius's chariot being stuck in many places, and enrag'd with the pain, began to kick and fling, and were like to cast him out of his seat, when fearing lest he should fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he leap'd down, and mounted a horse that was ready for that purpose, ingloriously flinging away the tokens of his dignity, lest they should betray him in his flight. Darius being fled, the remaining part of the army was soon dispers'd through fear, every one flinging down those arms he had taken for his defence, and making the best of his way : such being the nature of fear, as to dread even that which should protect it.

Permenio order'd a body of horse to pursue them that fled; and it happen'd that all fled towards that wing. But in the right wing the Persians press'd hard upon the Thessalian horse, and had already broke down one of their squadrons; but the Thessalians wheeling about and rallying, charg'd the Persians as often with so much bravery, that they easily routed their disorder'd troops, who had broken their ranks, thinking themselves secure of the victory. The Persian horses as well the riders, being loaded with armour, could not wheel about but with great difficulty, and as that is an act that depends on celerity, the nimbler Thessalians kill'd a great many of them before they could perform their wheel. When Alexander was inform'd of his advantage also on this side, tho' he did not care to pursue the Barbarians before, yet as soon as he found he had gain'd a complete victory, he resolv'd to pursue the enemy. The king had not above a thousand horse with him, and yet he made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. But who examines into the number of troops either in a victory or flight? They were drove therefore by this

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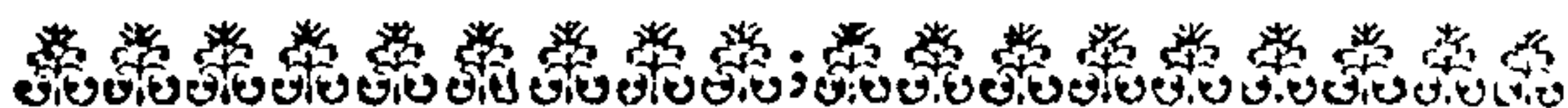
handful

handful of men, like so many sheep; and the same fear that made them fly, retarded their flight. But the Greeks that were hir'd by Darius, and commanded by Amyntas (formerly one of Alexander's lieutenants, tho' now a malecontent and a deserter) separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good order.

The Barbarians, in their confusion, took several roads; some took the direct road to Persia; some fetching a compass, repair'd to the rocks and the close woods of the mountains; a small body of them betook themselves to Darius's camp; but the enemy had already enter'd the same, where they found all manner of riches. There was an immense treasure of gold and silver (which seem'd rather to be intended for pomp and luxury, than for the use of the war) which fell a prey to the soldiers. And as they increas'd their plunder, they lighten'd themselves by flinging away what their avarice made them think of less value in comparison of a richer booty. They were now come among the women, who the richer they were clad, were by the soldiery more outrageously strip'd of their ornaments: nay, their very bodies were not exempt from what power and lust could inspire. The whole camp was fill'd with cries and lamentations, according to every one's fortune, there being no sort of evil that they did not experience, since the cruelty and licentiousness of the victor rag'd through all ranks and ages.

Here was at the same time, a particular specimen of the tyranny of fortune; for those very persons who had dress'd up Darius's tent with all the opulency and luxury imaginable, took care of the same for Alexander, as if he had been their first master. For this was the only thing the soldiers had left untouch'd in compliance with an ancient custom, that preserv'd always
the

the tent of the conquer'd prince, for the reception of the victorious. But of all the captives, the mother and wife of Darius drew the eyes and reflections of all beholders upon them. The first was venerable, not only by her majesty, but also by her age; the latter, by her consummate beauty, which even her present calamities did not impair. She held in her lap her young son, who did not yet exceed six years of age, and who was intitl'd by his birth, to that vast fortune his father had just lost. Darius's two daughters, that were then marriagable, lean'd on their grandmother's bosom, not more afflicted at their own misfortune, than at hers; round about her stood a crowd of noble ladies, with their hair and garments torn, unmindful of their former splendor, calling upon the queens with the distinguishing titles of majesty and sovereign, which once belong'd to them, but now were not applicable to them. But the queens themselves forgetting their own disaster, were inquisitive in which wing Darius fought, and what was his success? for they still deny'd they were prisoners, if the king were safe. At the same time, as he often chang'd horses, he was got a great way off. There fell of the Persians in this action, one hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. On Alexander's side, there were of the foot, five hundred and four wounded, and thirty two kill'd; and of the horse, one hundred and fifty were slain. So inconsiderable was the loss that procur'd him so glorious a victory.



C H A P. XII.

TH E king being very much fatigu'd in his pursuit after Darius, finding that night approach'd, and that there were no hopes of overtaking him, return'd to the camp which his men had a little before taken possession of. Here he invited those of his friends he was most familiar with, to an entertainment; for the hurt he had receiv'd in his thigh, being but skin deep, it did not hinder him from being present at the banquet. But a sudden mournful clamour, intermixt with a barbarous outcry from a neighbouring tent, disturbed their merriment. Hereupon the band that kept guard at the king's tent, thinking it was the beginning of a greater mischief, immediately took to their arms. The cause of this unexpected alarm, was owing to the cries and lamentations of Darius's mother, his wife, and the rest of the noble ladies, who believing the king was slain, bewail'd him after their country manner. For one of the captive eunuchs, who chanc'd to stand before their tent, saw one of the soldiers carrying Darius's cloak, which he had cast away lest it should betray him in his flight; and judging thereby that the king was kill'd, had acquainted the queens with the false supposition. It is said, Alexander being inform'd of the ladies' mistake, wept in compassion of Darius's fortune, and the affectionate disposition of the women. He therefore sent Mithrenes (who had surrender'd Sardis) to them (he being well vers'd in the Persian language) to com-

fort them in their affliction ; then reflecting that the sight of this traitor might aggravate their grief, he order'd Leonatus, one of his nobles, to assure them, that they were in the wrong to lament Darius as dead, since he was actually living. Leonatus taking a few arm'd soldiers with him, went accordingly to the tent where the royal captives were, and notify'd that he was come thither with a message from the king. But they that waited at the entry of the tent, as soon as they perceiv'd the men in arms, concluding the fate of their mistresses was now at hand, run into the tent, crying out, that their last hour was come, and that the king had sent soldiers to kill them. However, the queens not being able to make any opposition, and not daring to give orders for their coming in, made no answer at all, but silently expected the pleasure of the conqueror. Leonatus therefore having waited a considerable time for some person to introduce him, when he found no body dar'd to come to him, leaving his men without, he enter'd into the tent alone ; that of itself was sufficient to frighten the ladies, because he rush'd in without having obtain'd admittance. Hereupon Darius's mother and wife, flinging themselves at his feet, implor'd him to grant them leave to bury Darius's corps after the manner of their country, before he put them to death ; telling him, that after they had perform'd the last rites to their king, they were ready to submit to their fate. But Leonatus, to their great surprize, assur'd them that Darius was living, and that for their own parts, they should not only be in safety, but be us'd as queens, with all the splendor of their former grandeur. Upon this Darius's mother suffer'd her self to be help'd up. The next day Alexander took care to bury his dead, and order'd " the same honour to be shewn to the most " considerable among the Persians that were slain."

And gave leave “ to Sifigambis to bury as many as
“ she pleas’d, after the manner of the country. But
she was contented to shew that honour only to some
few of her nearest relations, and even in reference to
them, “ had a regard to her present circumstances ;
“ imagining that the pomp that the Persians use on
“ that occasion, might be taken ill by the conquerors,
“ who are contented to burn their own dead with lit-
“ tle or no ceremony.” Alexander having discharg’d
this office to the dead, notify’d to the captive queens,
that he was coming to pay them a visit ; and leaving
his attendants without, enter’d the tent with Hephæ-
stion only, who of all his friends was most in his fa-
vour, as having been educated with him : he was privy
to all his secrets, and alone had the privilege of speak-
ing freely to him, even to admonish him upon occasi-
on ; which liberty he was so far from abusing, that
whenever he used it, he seem’d to do it rather by the
king’s permission than of his own authority ; and as he
was of like age with the king, so he had the advan-
tage of him in the beauty of his person. The queens
therefore mistaking him for the king, paid him ho-
mage after their manner ; but some of the eunuchs re-
minding her of her error, and shewing her which was
the king, Syfigambis hung herself at his feet, plead-
ing ignorance, as never having seen him before. But
the king lifting her up, said to her, “ Mother, you
“ are not mistaken, for he too is Alexander.” Now
if he had preserv’d the same moderation to the end of
his life, I should have esteem’d him happier than he
seem’d to be when he imitated the triumph of Bac-
chus, after his conquest of the several nations from the
Hellepont to the ocean. He then would have con-
quer’d his pride and his anger, which he afterwards
found invincible evils. He had not then embroil’d his
hands in the blood of his friends at table : he would
then have been asham’d to put to death those renown-
ed

ed warriors (who had help'd him to conquer so many nations) without so much as giving them a hearing. But at that time, the greatness of his fortune had not got possession of his mind, so that he bore its first beginning with moderation and prudence, tho' at last she grew too vast for his capacity. At first he behav'd himself so as to excel all the kings before him, in clemency and continency; for his deportment towards the royal virgins, was so religiously virtuous, though they were perfect beauties, that he could not have acted with more reserve, had they been his own sisters: and as for Darius's wife, notwithstanding her beauty was such as to be exceeded by none of her time, he was so far from offering violence to her, that he took due care that no body else should offer that usage to his captives. He commanded "all manner of respect to be paid to the "royal ladies," inasmuch that there was nothing wanting to their primitive magnificence tho' in captivity, except confidence in the conqueror. Syngambis therefore address'd herself to him in this manner:

"You deserve, Sir, that we should offer up the
"same vows for you that we formerly made for
"Darius; for as far as I can see, you deserve it,
"having surpass'd him not only in good fortune, but
"also in clemency. You are pleas'd to call me mother and queen, but I acknowledge myself to be
"your servant; for notwithstanding I am able to
"bear my former dignity, yet I find I can conform
"myself to my present servitude. But it is for your
"glory and honour, that you express the power you
"have over us, rather by your clemency and goodness, than by your anger and severity." The king hereupon "bid them not be dejected," and then took Darius's son in his arms, who was so far from being frighten'd, tho' it was the first time he had
seen

seen him, that he put his hands about his neck : the king was so mov'd at the child's constancy, that turning to Hephaestion he said, " How glad should I be, if Darius had had something of this child's disposition." Then taking his leave of the queen, he went away ; and having caused three altars to be erected on the bank of the river Pinarus, in honour of Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, he march'd into Syria, sending Parmenio before to Damascus, where the king's treasure was kept.



C H A P. XIII.

Parmenio understanding that one of Darius's lieutenants was gone before him, and apprehending that the small number he had with him might appear contemptible to the enemy, had resolv'd to send for a reinforcement, but it happened that a certain Mardian fell into the hands of his scouts, who being brought to Parmenio, deliver'd to him letters from the governor of Damascus to Alexander, telling him withal, " That he did not doubt but the said governor intended to deliver up to him all the king's furniture and money." Parmenio having set a guard upon him, opens the letter, in which was writ, " That Alexander should send, with expedition, one of his generals with a small body of men." Upon this information, Parmenio sent back the Mardian, with a small guard to the traitor. But he making his escape, arriv'd at Damascus before day. This made Parmenio somewhat uneasy, for he
 2 began

began to suspect some ambuscade might be laid for him, and therefore was afraid to march without a guide ; however, confiding in the good fortune of his prince, he order'd some peasants to be intercepted to serve him as guides, and his men having quickly found some, he reach'd the town on the fourth day, when the governor began to think his letter had not been credited. Wherefore pretending to distrust the strength of the place, before the sun was up, he order'd the king's money and the most valuable moveables, to be brought forth, pretending to fly, but in reality to deliver the booty to the enemy. He was accompany'd out of town by a great many thousand men and women, a deplorable spectacle to all the spectators, except him to whose care they were committed. For that he might be the better rewarded for his treachery, he intended to deliver to the enemy a more acceptable booty than that of money ; viz. several noblemen, with the wives and children of Darius's governors. Besides these, there were the ambassadors of the Greek towns, all which Darius had put into his treacherous tuition, as into a place of safety. The Persians call those who carry burthens on their shoulders, Gangabæ. These men not being able to endure the cold (for there had fallen a great deal of snow, and besides it was a hard frost) put on the rich garments of gold and purple, with which they were loaded as well as with money : nobody daring to oppose their so doing, the king's hard fate having render'd him contemptible even to the vilest wretches. This multitude seem'd at first to Parmenio to be no despicable army ; he therefore having made a short speech to his men to animate and encourage them, commanded them “ to clap
“ spurs to their horses, and to charge the enemy vi-
“ gorously :” but those that carry'd the burthens,

per-

perceiving what was doing, flung down their loads, and took to their heels out of fear. The soldiers that followed them, being also intimidated, cast away their arms, and fled to the bye-ways they were well acquainted with ; the governor himself counterfeiting fear likewise, had caus'd a general confusion. The king's riches lay scatter'd up and down the fields ; viz. that money that was to pay so vast an army, with the rich apparel of so many noblemen and women ; golden vessels, gold bridles, tents adorn'd with regal magnificence, chariots forsaken by their drivers, loaded with infinite riches ; inso-much that it would have been a dismal sight even to the plunderers themselves, if it was possible for any thing to make an impression on avarice. Here was to be seen all that immense treasure and rich furniture (that had been heaping up in so long a course of prosperity, that almost exceeded all belief) expos'd to be pillaged, some things being torn from the bushes where they hung, others dug out of the mire where they lay. There were not hands enough to gather this plunder. By this time those that fled, were overtaken : there were a great many women among them, whereof some were dragging along their little children by the hand. Here were also three maiden ladies, the daughters of Ochus, who had reign'd but before Darius : they had fallen from their paternal rank and dignity by the former change of affairs ; but now fortune seem'd cruelly to aggravate their calamity. In this crowd there was, beside the wife of Ochus, and the daughter of Oxatres, Darius's brother, with the wife of Artabazus (who was the next nobleman of Persia) and his son nam'd Hionas. With these were also taken the wife and son of Artabazus, to whom Darius had given the command of the maritime coast ; Mentor's three daughters, and the

wife and son of that noble captain, Memnon. In fine, there was hardly any noble family that did not share in the misfortune. Here were taken also, several Lacedemonians and Athenians, who contrary to the league with Alexander, had sided with the Persians; Aristogiton, Dropides, and Iphicrates, considerable people among the Athenians both for their birth and renown; Pausippus, Onomastorides, with Monimus and Callicratides, who were likewise considerable men among the Lacedemonians. The sum of coin'd money that was taken, amounted to two thousand and sixty talents; the wrought silver was equal to five hundred talents in weight; besides all which, there were thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts of burthen taken. But the gods quickly punish'd the betrayer of so much wealth; for one he had imparted the matter to, retaining still a veneration for Darius, even in his calamity, cut off the traitor's head, and carry'd it to the king, as a seasonable comfort to a prince so foully betray'd; for he not only was reveng'd of his enemy, but had moreover the satisfaction to find that all his subjects had not lost the respect and fidelity that was due to the dignity of majesty.



QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

DA R I U S, who but a little while since was at the head of so powerful an army, riding in his chariot more after the manner of a triumphing general, than of one that was going to give battle to his enemy, was now forced to a shameful flight through those places he had lately fill'd with his numerous troops, but were now, by his misfortune, become desolate and waste. Some few followed their king, for the broken army did not all take one road ; and as the king chang'd horses frequently, his followers not having the same advantages, could not keep pace with him. He first came to Unchæ, where he was received by four thousand Greeks, who guarded him to the Euphrates ; for he look'd

look'd upon that only to be his now, that he could by his expedition prevent the enemy's seizing. In the mean time Alexander gave orders to L'armenio, who had taken the booty at Damascus, to place a good guard over it, as also upon the prisoners, and made him governor of Syria, which they call Cœle. But the Syrians could not at first brook the new government, because they had not yet sufficiently felt the scourge of the war; however, being suppress'd at last as they revolted, they were glad at last to conform to its orders.

Aradus, which is an island, was about this time surrender'd to Alexander. Sitrato, who was king of that island, had also the sovereignty of the maritime coast, and a considerable inland territory.

Alexander having receiv'd his submission, and taken him into his protection, march'd his army to Marathos. Here letters were brought him from Darius, at which he was very much incens'd, they being writ in a very haughty style: but what vext him most was, that Darius then writ himself king, without giving Alexander that title, and requir'd, rather than desir'd, "That he would restore to him his mother, wife and children, promising for their ransom as much money as all Macedonia was worth; and as for the empire, he would try for it again, if he pleas'd, in a fair field. At the same time he advis'd him, if he was still capable of wholesome advice, to be contented with his own dominions, and to retire from that empire he had no right to; and from being an enemy, to become a friend and ally, he being ready both to give and receive any engagements on that account." To this letter Alexander made answer much after this manner: "King Alexander to Darius; That prince whose name you have taken, having committed great hostilities on those Greeks, who

“ who inhabit the coast of the Hellespont, and also on
“ the Ionian colonies, who are also Greeks, put to sea
“ with a powerful fleet and army, and invaded Macedonia and Greece. After him Xerxes, who was a
“ prince of the same family, attack'd us with an infinite number of Barbarians ; and notwithstanding he
“ was beaten at sea, yet he left Mardonius in
“ Greece, to pillage the cities in his absence, and
“ burn the country. Besides all which, who does
“ not know that my father Philip was inhumanly
“ murder'd by those you had basely corrupted with
“ your money? You make no scruple to enter upon
“ impious wars, and altho' you do not want arms,
“ you unworthily set a price upon the heads of your
“ enemies, yourself having given a late instance of
“ that, in offering a thousand talents to him that
“ would murder me, tho' you had so mighty an
“ army at command. It is plain therefore, that I
“ am not the aggressor, but repel force by force ; and
“ the gods, who always side with the just cause, have
“ already made me master of great part of Asia, and
“ given me a signal victory over you yourself.
“ However, tho' you have no reason to expect any
“ favour at my hands (since you have not so much as
“ observ'd the laws of war towards me) yet if you
“ come to me in a suppliant manner, I promise you
“ shall receive your mother, wife and children without any ransom at all. I know how to conquer,
“ and how to use the conquer'd. If you are afraid to
“ venture your person with me, I am ready to give
“ you sureties, for your doing it with safety : now I
“ would have you remember for the future, when
“ you write to me, that you are writing not only to
“ a king, but also to your king.” Therpsippus was
charg'd with this letter. After this he descended into Phœnicia, where the city of Biblos was surrendered to
him,

him, from whence he march'd to Sydon, a city famous for its antiquity, and the splendour of its founders. Strato was king there, and had receiv'd succours from Darius : but because the town had been surrender'd to him, more by the agreement of the inhabitants than by Strato's own consent, Alexander judging him unworthy of the crown, gave leave to Hephæstion " to bestow the crown on him, that " the Sydonians should think most worthy of that " honour." Hephæstion was lodg'd with two young noblemen of considerable note, among the Sydonians, he therefore offer'd them the kingdom, but they refus'd it, telling him that it was contrary to the laws of the country, " to admit of any one to that dignity, that was not of the royal family." Hereupon Hephæstion, admiring their greatness of soul, which made them slight what others covet at any price of danger, encouraged them " to persist in that " virtuous disposition, since they were the first that " understood how much greater it was to despise a " kingdom than to accept of it." However, he desir'd them " to name one of the royal race, who " might remember he receiv'd that dignity at their " hands."

They seeing a great many making interest for the obtaining that distinguishing rank, courting the favour of Alexander's friends, in hopes to obtain it, declar'd, " that none deserv'd it better than Abdominus, who, tho' remotely of kin to the royal " family, was reduc'd thro' poverty to cultivate a " garden for a small stipend in the suburbs of the " city." His virtue and probity were the cause of his poverty, as it happens to many ; and as he kept close to his daily labour, he was out of the noise of wars, which at that time shook all Asia : but on the sudden the two gentlemen before-mentioned enter'd the garden, with the royal apparel, where they found
Abdo-

Abdolominus pulling up the weeds and useleſs plants. When they had ſaluted him king, one of them told him, “ He muſt make an exchange of his mean apparel, for thoſe royal robes he beheld in his hands ;” and therefore bid him “ waſh his body that was covered with dirt and filth, and take up a kingly ſpirit, and advance his continency and moderation, to that high fortune he was worthy of ; and when he ſhould be ſeated in the royal throne, and had in his power the life and death of his citizens, not to forget the condition he was in when the crown was conferr’d upon him ; nay, in truth, for which he was choſen king.” This diſcourſe appeared to Abdolominus like a dream, and he would now and then aſk them, “ If they were in their ſenſes to ridicule him after ſo odd a manner ?” But as he was ſlow in complying, they cauſ’d him to be waſh’d, and having cloath’d him with a purple garment, interwoven with gold, and by their oaths ſatisfy’d him they were ſerious, and that he was really pitch’d upon to be king, he accompany’d them to the palace. The rumour of what was done (as it uſually happens) ſoon ſpread itſelf over the town, and ſome were pleas’d with it, while others were incens’d. The rich repreſented to Alexander’s friends his mean condition and poverty. Wherefore the king having ordered him to be brought before him : and having view’d him well, he ſaid his perſon did not diſagree with the account of his extraction, but he deſir’d him to inform him how he had born his poverty ? To which he reply’d, “ Would to God I may be able to bear the weight of the crown, with the ſame tranquility of mind ; for theſe hands of mine have ſufficiently ſupply’d my wants, and as I had nothing, ſo I wanted nothing.” The king taking this answer as a token of a noble diſpoſition, not only commanded Strato’s royal furniture to be deliver’d

liver'd to him, but also presented him with a considerable part of the Persian booty, adding the adjacent territory to his jurisdiction. In the mean time Amyntas (who we said before had left Alexander, and was fled to the Persians) was come to Tripolis with four thousand Greeks who had follow'd him, after the last battle, there having shipped off his soldiers, he sail'd to Cyprus; and as every one thought at that Juncture of time that whatever he could get possession of, would be his own of right, he resolv'd to go to Egypt, being now an enemy to both kings, and resolving to conform himself to the mutability of the times. Making therefore a speech to his soldiers, he gave them mighty hopes of succeeding in so great an attempt, and reminded them, “ that Sabaces, who
“ was governor of Egypt, was kill'd in the battle,
“ that the Persian forces were without a leader, and
“ were but few in number; and that the Egyptians,
“ who were always dissatisfy'd with their governors,
“ would look upon them rather to be their friends
“ than their enemies.

Necessity put him upon trying all things. For when men are disappointed of their first hopes, they look upon the future to be preferable to the present: hereupon the soldiers unanimously agree to follow him where-ever he should lead them; and he thinking it prudence not to give them time to alter their minds, brought them into the haven of Pelusium, “ pretending he was sent thither before by Darius.” Having got possession of Pelusium, he advanc'd to Memphis; the rumour of his arrival being spread up and down, the Egyptians, out of their natural levity, which makes them fitter for innovations, than for any considerable performances, came out of their towns and villages with a design to assist him to destroy the Persian garrisons; who, notwithstanding they were alarm'd at the suddenness of the enterprise, did

did not cast away all hopes of maintaining their ground: but Amyntas having got the better of them in a set battle, drove them into the town, and having pitch'd his camp, he led his victorious army out to pillage and destroy the country; and as if every thing now lay at his mercy, he ravag'd whatever belong'd to the enemy. Wherefore Mazaces, notwithstanding he knew his men were dishearten'd by their late overthrow, represented to them, "that the enemy was
" dispers'd up and down, being altogether careless on
" the account of their late victory, and that they
" might with ease recover what they had lost."

This counsel was no less prudent in its reason, than happy in the event, for they kill'd them every man, their leader perishing among the rest: thus Amyntas was punish'd for his treachery to both kings, for he prov'd as false to him he went over to, as to him he had deserted. Darius's lieutenants that had surviv'd the battle at Issus, having got together the scatter'd forces that had fled from them, and rais'd what men they could in Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, resolv'd to try to recover the country of Lydia. Antigenus was governor there for Alexander, who notwithstanding he had sent the greatest part of his garrisons to strengthen the king's army, yet despising the Barbarians, he drew out his men, and gave them battle.

Here fortune shew'd herself constant to Alexander's side, for the Persians were routed in three engagements fought in three several provinces. About this time the Macedonian fleet sailing from Greece overcame Aristomenes, whom Darius had sent to recover the coast of the Hellespont, and either took or sunk all his ships. On the other side, Pharnabazus, admiral of the Persian fleet, having forc'd the Milesians to pay a considerable sum of money, and put a garrison into Chius, sail'd with a hundred ships to Andros, and from thence to Syphnus, leaving a garrison also



HERCVLES TYRIVS.



TYRIVS

in those islands, and exacting a sum of money from them by way punishment. The great war between the two most powerful princes of Europe and Asia, in hopes of an universal empire, had likewise put Greece and Crete in arms; for Agis, king of the Lacedemonians, having got together eight thousand Greeks, who were return'd home, having made their escape from Cilicia, march'd against Antipater, governor of Macedonia. The Cretans, according as they chang'd their sides, were sometimes garrison'd by Spartans, and sometimes by the Macedonians: but these were but trifling quarrels, and hardly worth fortune's concern, who seem'd wholly taken up with that war on which all the rest depended.



C H A P. II.

THE Macedonians had already made themselves masters of all Syria, and of all Phœnicia, excepting Tyre, and the king was encamp'd upon the continent, from which the town is separated by a narrow sea. Tyre is the most considerable city of either Syria or Phœnicia, both for its largeness as well as fame, and therefore expected rather to be admitted into Alexander's friendship as an ally, than to become subject to his empire. On this account they sent him a present of a gold crown, and a large quantity of provisions for his army; all which the king graciously accepted of as from friends: then turning to the ambassadors, "he told them he intended to sacrifice to Hercules, who is in greatest veneration with the Tyrians; that the kings of Macedon look'd upon

VOL. I. I " them-

“ themselves to be descended from that god ; and
“ that he was moreover advis’d by the oracle to ac-
“ quit himself of that devotion.” To this the am-
bassadors answer’d, “ That there was a temple dedi-
“ cated to Hercules without the town, in a place
“ called the Palætyrus, where the king, if he pleas’d,
“ might discharge that duty.” This answer so in-
flam’d Alexander, who could not command his passion
on a less provocation, that he spoke to them in this
manner, “ I perceive that because you live in an island,
“ you trust so much to the situation of your city, that
“ you despise my land army ; but in a little time I’ll
“ make you know you are on the continent ; and
“ therefore know, I’ll either be admitted into the
“ town, or I’ll take it by force.”

As they were returning with this answer, some of
the king’s friends endeavoured to persuade them
“ not to deny the king entrance into their city, since
“ the whole province of Syria and Phœnicia had sub-
“ mitted to him.” But they relying on the strength
of the place, resolved to endure the siege ; for the
town was divided from the continent by a narrow sea
of about four furlongs in breadth, which is much
expos’d to the south-west wind, which when it rag’d,
beat the waves so violently against the shore, that the
Macedonians could not carry on their work of com-
munication between the continent and the island.
Nay, they had much ado to work when the sea was
calm ; but when it is disturb’d by this wind, what-
ever is cast into it, is carry’d away by the violent
motion of the waves : nor could there be any founda-
tion laid so strong, but the waters would cut their
way through the joints of the work ; and when the
wind was high, it would carry the waters above the
highest part. Besides this difficulty, there was ano-
ther of no less consequence, viz. the walls so
tower

towers of the town were furrounded with a very deep sea, so that they could not plant any battering engines against them, but upon ships at a great distance, and it was impossible to apply ladders to the walls. Now Alexander had no shipping, and if he had had any, they might easily have been kept off by darts from the town; besides, the waters keeping them in a continual motion, would have made their machines ineffectual. Besides all which, there was an accident, which, tho' but inconsiderable in itself, yet serv'd to encourage the Tyrians.

Ambassadors were come from the Carthaginians to offer their annual sacrifice to Hercules, according to the custom of the country ; for the Tyrians having founded Carthage, were in great esteem with the Carthaginians, who respected them as their parents. These ambassadors exhorted them “ to undergo the “ siege with courage, and they should in a little time “ receive succour from Carthage ;” for at that time the Carthaginians were very powerful at sea. Having therefore resolv’d upon a war, they dispose their engines on their walls and towers, distribute arms to their youth, and fill their work-houses with artificers, with which the city abounded. In fine, the whole town was taken up with the preparations for the war : they provided themselves with grappling irons, crows, and other inventions for the defence of towns ; but when the iron was put into the forge, as they were blowing the fire they perceiv’d little streams of blood under the flames, which the Tyrians interpreted as an ill omen to the Macedonians ; and it happened that one of Alexander’s soldiers, in the breaking of his bread, observed drops of blood to rise out of it. The king being somewhat alarm’d at this accident, consulted Aristander (who was the most skilful of all the soothsayers) about the meaning of it, who told

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him,

him, “ That if the blood had flown from without,
“ it would have portended evil to the Macedonians ;
“ but as it proceeded from the inward parts, it prog-
“ nosticated mischief to the city he was going to
“ besiege.” As Alexander’s fleet was at a great di-
stance, and as a long siege would be detrimental to
his other designs, he sent heralds to them to invite
them to peaceful terms ; but the Tyrians, contrary
to the law of nations, murdered and cast them head-
long into the sea. This foul usage so exasperated the
king, that he resolv’d upon the siege, but he was
first of all obliged to make a pier, to join the con-
tinent and the town. Hereupon the soldiers “ were
“ seiz’d with the utmost despair, seeing the sea was
“ so very deep, and that they look’d upon it to be im-
“ possible for them, even with the divine assistance, to
“ fill it up ; where should they find stones large enough
“ or trees tall enough for so prodigious a work ?”
since whole countries would hardly afford enough for
the purpose ; the narrowness of the strait making the
sea always rough, and the closer it was confin’d, the
more it rag’d. However, the king, who was not
now to learn how to manage the soldiers minds, as-
sur’d them, “ That Hercules had appear’d to him
“ in a dream, and taking him by the hand seem’d to
“ conduct him into the city.” At the same time he
reminded them “ of the barbarous usage to his he-
“ ralds, of the violation of the law of nations, and
“ that it was a shame the course of their victories
“ should be stopp’d by a single town.” Then he
charg’d the captains to silence the murmurings of their
respective soldiers ; and having animated all of them,
he set about the work. There was great plenty of
stones at hand, in the ruins of the old town, and
mount Libanus supply’d them with materials for their
boats and towers. The work was already swell’d to

the bulk of a mountain from the bottom of the sea, but yet it did not reach the surface of the water ; and the farther it advanc'd into the sea, the easier whatever was cast therein, was swallowed up by the deep abyss. While the Macedonians were thus employ'd, the Tyrians came out in their boats, and in a scoffing manner upbraided them “ with carrying burdens on “ their backs like beasts, they who were such mighty “ warriors :” They also ask'd them, “ whether “ Alexander was greater than Neptune ?” These insults serv'd very much to animate the soldiers. By this time the work began to shew itself above the water, and to increase in breadth, drawing nearer to the town.

When the Tyrians beheld the bulk of the pier, (which the sea had hinder'd them before from observing how it increas'd) they came out in little boats, and row'd round the work (which was not yet join'd to the island) attacking with their darts those that guarded it. And as they wounded several without a return (they being able to advance or retire as they pleas'd) the Macedonians were forc'd to interrupt the work for some time to defend themselves. The king therefore caus'd skins and sails to be stretch'd out before the workmen to protect them from the darts, and rais'd two towers at the head of the pier, from whence the Macedonians might, with ease, annoy with their darts, those of the enemy that pass'd under in boats. On the other side the Tyrians having landed some of their soldiers at a considerable distance, so as not to be perceiv'd by the Macedonians, fell upon those that were fetching stones, and cut them to pieces. And on mount Libanus the Arabian peasants attack'd the dispers'd Macedonians and kill'd about thirty of them, taking also some of them prisoners.



C H A P. III.

THIS made Alexander divide his army, and that he might not be thought to lie idle before a single city, he committed the siege to Perdiccas and Craterus, and march'd himself with a flying camp into Arabia. In the mean time the Tyrians fix'd out a very large ship, and loaded it to the sternward with stones and gravel, and thereby rais'd the stem of it very high, and having besmear'd it with a great quantity of pitch and brimstone, they row'd it along, and its sails gathering a great deal of wind, they soon work'd it up to the pier. They that were on board, having set fire to the forecastle, leap'd into little boats that follow'd for that purpose. The ship thus on fire, quickly communicated its flames to a great distance, which, before any help could be brought, had took hold of the towers and other works at the head of the bank ; and they who were in the little boats, ply'd the works with burning torches, and other combustible materials, proper to feed the conflagration : the fire had already gain'd the very top of the towers, where some of the Macedonians perish'd in the flames, while others flinging away their arms, cast themselves into the sea : but the Tyrians, who chose rather to take them alive than to kill them, having lam'd their hands with sticks and stones so as altogether to disable them, took them into their boats with safety. The works were not only consum'd by the fire, but the wind happening to be high that day, put the sea into so great a ferment,

that the waves beating furiously upon the pier, and having loosened the joints of the work, the water forc'd its way through the middle of the pier. When the stones on which the earth was cast, were wash'd away, the whole structure sunk into the deep, so that Alexander at his return from Arabia hardly found any footsteps left of so vast a pile. Here, as it is usual in disappointments, one cast the fault upon another; when they might all with more reason have fix'd it on the tempestuousness of the sea. The king therefore giving directions for a new pier, order'd that the front of it should be carry'd on against the wind, whereas the side of the old one lay expos'd to it: this was done, that the other works, lying as it were under the shelter of the forepart, might be secur'd thereby. He also augmented the breadth of it, that the towers being built in the middle might be less subject to the enemies darts. Whole trees, with their arms and branches, were cast into the sea, upon which they flung great heaps of stones; these were cover'd with a new course of trees, which they cover'd again with earth, till by successive lays of trees, stones and earth, the whole work became one solid body. The Tyrians at the same time omitted nothing that ingenuity could invent to render the Macedonians labour ineffectual. The greatest help they received was from their divers, who entering the waters out of the enemies sight, swam down unperceiv'd to the very pier, and with hooks dragg'd after them the branches that stuck out of the stones, which drew along with them the other materials into the deep. The trunk of their trees being thus discharged of their load, were easily remov'd; so that the foundation falling, the whole superstructure follow'd. While Alexander was thus perplex'd in mind, and deliberating with himself whether he

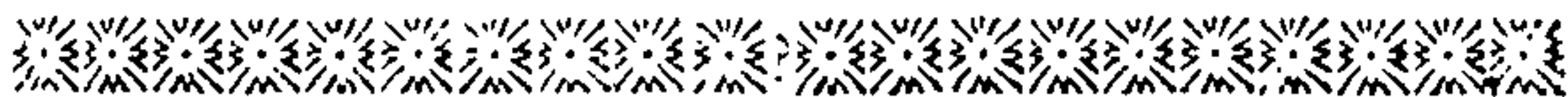
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should continue the siege, or be gone, his fleet opportunely arriv'd from Cyprus; and at the same time Cleander with fresh recruits from Greece. The king divided his fleet, which consisted of one hundred and eighty ships into two squadrons; the one was commanded by Phytagoras king of Cyprus, and Claferas; the other he commanded himself in the royal galley. But altho' the Tyrians had a fleet, yet they did not dare to venture a sea fight with Alexander; and therefore they plac'd all their galleys under their walls. However, the king attack'd them there, and sunk them. The next day Alexander brought his whole fleet up to the walls, which he batter'd on all sides with his engines, but chiefly with those they call rams. The Tyrians on their part were very diligent in repairing the damage, and began to build a new wall within the old one, that in case this fell they might still have that for their defence. But they were now press'd on all sides; for the pier was advanc'd within the cast of a dart, and the fleet surrounded the walls; so that they were annoy'd both from the sea and land at the same time. For the Macedonians had fasten'd their galleys two and two, stern to stern; so that their sterns were as far distant from each other as the interval would permit. This interval between stern and stern was made good with sail-yards and strong planks laid across and fasten'd together, and over these, bridges were laid for the soldiers to stand upon. In this order they were tow'd to the city; and the soldiers, from these bridges, ply'd the besieged with their darts, they themselves being out of danger, by reason the prows cover'd them. It was midnight when the king commanded the fleet to surround the town in the order we before describ'd; and when the Tyrians saw the ships draw near the city on all sides,

their hearts began to fail them; but on the sudden the sky was overcast with thick clouds, which presently intercepted the light that appear'd about that time: then the sea by degrees became more horrible, and began to work high, and the wind still encreasing, the waves swell'd prodigiously, dashing the ships one against another. The violence of the tempest was such, that the bands that fasten'd the galleys were broke, the scaffolds and bridges fell with a dreadful noise, and drew the soldiers along with them into the deep: and the ships that were ty'd together, were not to be govern'd in so high a sea. The soldiers were a hindrance to the seamen, and the seamen disturb'd the soldiers in their duty; and as it frequently happens in such cases, the skilful were forc'd to obey the ignorant. For the pilots, who at other times were us'd to command, being threaten'd with death, obey'd the orders of others. At length the sea, as if overcome by the obstinacy of the rowers, resign'd the ships to their rescuers; and they reach'd the shore, altho' most of them much shatter'd. About this time there came thirty ambassadors from Carthage, being rather a comfort than a help to the besieged; for they gave them to understand, "that the Carthaginians were themselves so engag'd in war, that they did not now fight for empire, but for safety." The Syracusans were at this time destroying Africa with fire and sword; and were encamp'd not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians however were not discourag'd, tho' disappointed of so considerable an expectation; but delivering their wives and children to these ambassadors to be transported to Carthage, resolv'd to bear whatever happen'd with the greatest fortitude, since they had the satisfaction to have secur'd what was most
I 5 dear

dear to them, from sharing in the common danger. At this very juncture one of the citizens declar'd to the assembly, that Apollo, whom the Tyrians had a great veneration for, “ had appear'd to him in his “ sleep, as if he was going to leave the town, and “ that the pier the Macedonians had made, seem'd “ to be chang'd into a wood.” Hereupon altho' the author was not in great credit among them, yet as they were inclin'd to believe the worst, out of fear, they bound the image with a golden chain, and fasten'd it to the altar of Hercules, to whom their town was dedicated: as if they thought by his superior power, to retain Apollo against his will. The Carthaginians had brought this image from Syracuse, and had plac'd it here as being their original country; for they were us'd to adorn Tyre as well as Carthage with the spoils they took from other towns. and at this time would fain have persuaded them to renew a sacrifice, that I cannot believe to be at all acceptable to the gods; and that the Tyrians had laid aside for several ages, viz. “ to offer up to Saturn a free-born child, which sacrilege (rather than sacrifice) the Carthaginians had receiv'd from their founders, and are said to have observ'd it till their city was destroy'd. Now had not the elders (by whose directions all things were manag'd) oppos'd this barbarous superstition, it would in all likelihood have got the better of humanity. However, their pressing necessity, which is more efficaciously ingenious than art, made them not only put in practice the usual methods of defence, but inspir'd them also with new ones: for, to annoy the ships that approach'd the walls, they contriv'd long rafters, to which they fasten'd crows, grappling irons, hooks and scythes, which they discharg'd from their engines, letting go
up

the ropes to which they were fasten'd, that they might recover them again. These hooks and scythes tore to pieces the men, and very much damag'd the ships. They had, besides, another contrivance; they heated brass bucklers as hot as fire could make them, and then fill'd them with burning sand, and boiling mud, which they pour'd down from the walls upon the Macedonians. None of their machines were more terrible than this; for if the burning sand got between the armour and the body, as it was impossible to shake it off, it fail'd not to burn whatever it touch'd; so that flinging down their arms, and tearing every thing off that was to protect their bodies, they lay expos'd to all manner of mischief, without being able to do any.



C H A P. IV.

BY this time the king was so tir'd with the tediousness of the siege, that he resolv'd to raise it, and carry his arms into Egypt. For tho' he had, with incredible celerity, run over Asia, the walls of one single town now stop'd his progress, and hinder'd him from making use of the opportunity he had, of executing his great designs: on the other side, he was no less asham'd of going away without carrying his point, than of being so long about it. Moreover, he consider'd his reputation would suffer (by which he had done more, than by his arms) if he left Tyre as a witness that he was to be overcome: therefore, that he might leave no means untry'd, " he

I 6

" resolv'd

“ resolv’d to make his last effort with a greater number of ships, and the choicest of his troops on board.” At this time it happen’d that a whale of an unusual size, (for its back appeared above the water) came and laid itself by the pier side; where having beat the waves for some time, it rais’d itself so as to be conspicuous to both parties. After this it plung’d again into the sea near the head of the pier, and sometimes shewing itself above the waves, sometimes hiding itself in the deep, it shew’d itself for the last time not far from the walls of the city. Both sides interpreted the sight of this monster in favour of their respective interest. The Macedonians conjectur’d, “ that the whale pointed to them, which way they ought to carry on their work :” And the Tyrians concluded, “ that Neptune had pitch’d upon it, to be the messenger to assert his right to the usurp’d sea, and that the new-erected fabrick would in a little time fall to ruin.” Possessed with this opinion they fell to feasting, and loaded themselves with wine. And at sun-rise they mann’d out their ships which they had adorn’d with garlands and flowers, not only presuming the victory to be certain, but also rejoicing beforehand for it. It happen’d that the king had order’d his fleet to a contrary part of the town, and left but thirty of the smallest rate upon the shore, two whereof were presently taken by the Tyrians, and the rest were in great danger; till Alexander, being alarm’d at the outcry of his men, came with the fleet to their assistance : The first of the Macedonian galleys that came up, was a galley of five men to an oar, which was the swiftest sailer in the fleet. As soon as the Tyrians perceiv’d it, they came against it with two others, one on each side. The Cinquereme, plying all its oars to encounter one of them, received a rude shock from the

the

the beck of its adversary, yet grappled with her so as to hold her fast. The other being at liberty, was just ready to attack her on the contrary side, when one of Alexander's galleys came very seasonably to her relief, and was drove so violently against her enemy, that she struck the pilot of the Tyrian galley from his post at stern into the sea. By this time several others of the Macedonian ships were come up, as also the king in person, which made the Tyrians use their utmost effort to set their entangled galley at liberty ; which having, tho' with difficulty, compass'd, they made to their haven with all their fleet. Alexander immediately pursu'd them, but could not get into the haven, by reason of the darts with which they ply'd him from the walls of the city. However, he either sunk or took almost all their ships. Then he granted two days rest to his soldiers, after which he advanced with all his ships and machines, that he might from both attack the enemy, that was already in a great consternation. The king, on this occasion, plac'd himself on the top of a high tower, with a great deal of bravery, but yet greater danger : for as he was remarkable by his royal apparel, and the brightness of his arms, they chiefly aim'd at him. Here he behav'd himself with all the gallantry imaginable ; for he kill'd several upon the wall, with his pike, others in a closer engagement, with his sword and buckler, he cast headlong into the sea : for the tower from which he fought, almost join'd to the enemies walls. The battering rams had now by their repeated strokes, beat down great part of the fortifications of the place, the fleet had enter'd the fort, and some of the Macedonians had taken possession of some of the towers that the enemy had deserted ; when the Tyrians, sinking under the weight of so many ill accidents at once, betake themselves some
to

to the sanctuary of the temples, others making fast their doors, chuse their own way of dying. Some again fell furiously upon the Macedonians, resolving not to die unreveng'd. But the greatest part got up to the tops of the houses, and from thence flung stones, or whatever came next to their hands, upon the enemy in the streets. Alexander gave orders "to spare none but those who had taken refuge in the temples, and to set fire to the town." And notwithstanding proclamation was made accordingly; yet none that could bear arms, thought fit to seek for succour from the gods. The children of both sexes fill'd the temples, and the men stood at the entry of their own houses, ready to fall a sacrifice to the soldiers fury. However, a great many were sav'd by the Sidonians that were in Alexander's camp. These having enter'd the town with the conquerors, and remembering their relation with the Tyrians (for Agenor, as they believ'd, founded both cities) protected a great many of the town's people, carrying them on board their ships, and transported them to Sidon. There were sav'd, by this means, about fifteen thousand. How much blood was spilt may be guess'd at from this, that six thousand were found slain within the city walls. Notwithstanding all this, the king's anger was not satisfy'd, so that he commanded two thousand of the enemy that had surviv'd the soldier's rage (they being weary with killing) to be crucify'd along the sea coast: a sad spectacle even to the conquerors themselves! He spar'd the ambassadors of the Carthaginians, but declar'd war against them, tho' he could not prosecute it immediately, by reason of his other more pressing affairs. Tyre was taken the seventh month after it was first besieg'd, a town famous to posterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent variety of fortune. It was built by Agenor

Agenor, and held a considerable time the sovereignty, not only of the neighbouring sea, but also of all the seas wherever its fleets came. And if we may believe report, this people was the first that either taught or learn'd letters. It had planted colonies almost all over the world; Carthage in Africk, Thebes in Bœotia, and Gades upon the ocean. For my part, I am apt to believe, that as the Tyrians were masters at sea, and often visited countries unknown to other people, they made choice of such and such seats for their youth with which they abounded: or else (for this is also said) that the island being mightily subject to earthquakes, the inhabitants (tir'd therewith) were forc'd to settle themselves in other habitations by dint of arms. Be it as it will, having undergone many casualties, and as it were, reviving after being raz'd, by the help of a long peace, which makes every thing flourish, it now enjoys a profound ease under the protection of the Roman clemency.



C H A P. V.

ABOUT this time, Alexander receiv'd letters from Darius, wherein he gives him, at last, the title of king, and desir'd “ he would accept of his
 “ daughter Statyra for wife, offering him with her,
 “ all that tract of ground that lies between the Hel-
 “ lespont and the river Halys: and that he himself
 “ would be contented with those countries that lie
 “ eastward

“ eastward from thence. That if he found it dif-
 “ ficulty to accept of this his offer, he would be to
 “ reflect, that fortune seldom made any man happy
 “ any where; and that the greater felicity he en-
 “ joy’d, the more were they also envy’d. That it
 “ was to be fear’d, lest by his juvenile disposition of
 “ mind, he should be elated with vanity, on the ac-
 “ count of his success; after the manner of birds,
 “ whose natural lightness carry’d them up to the
 “ skies. That nothing was more difficult, than at
 “ his age to be capable of so great a fortune. That
 “ as for his own part, he still had a great deal left,
 “ and should not always be surpriz’d in streights:
 “ that Alexander would find himself obliged to pass
 “ the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the
 “ Hydaspes, which were like so many bulwarks
 “ to his dominions: that in the large plains he must
 “ come into, he would be ashamed of his small num-
 “ ber. When would he be able to reach Media,
 “ Hyrcania, Bactra, and the Indians that border on
 “ the ocean? or the Sogdians and Arachosians, who
 “ are hardly so much as known but by their name;
 “ with the other nations that dwell along mount
 “ Caucasus, and the river Tanais? That were he but
 “ barely to travel over these vast countries without
 “ any opposition at all, he would find himself be-
 “ come old before he could perform the journey.
 “ That it was his best way not to stand upon his
 “ coming to him, since whenever he came, it should
 “ be to his ruin.” To which letter Alexander made
 the following answer by those that brought it:
 “ That Darius promis’d him what was now none
 “ of his own: that he offered to divide that which
 “ he had already entirely lost: that Lydia, Ionia,
 “ Æolia, and the coast of the Hellespont, were
 “ actually in his possession by the law of arms:
 “ that

“ that it belong’d to the victorious to prescribe con-
“ ditions, and to the vanquish’d to receive them. If he
“ was alone ignorant which of these states he was in
“ at present, he might, as soon as he pleas’d, be
“ made sensible thereof by another battle. That
“ when he pass’d the sea, he did not propose to him-
“ self Cilicia or Lydia (which he look’d upon as an
“ inconsiderable reward for so great a war) but that
“ Persepolis, the capital of his empire, with Bactra,
“ and Ecbatana, and the utmost bounds of the east,
“ were what he design’d to subject to his power. That
“ whithersoever he could fly, he could also follow ;
“ and that having pass’d the sea, he was not to be
“ frighten’d with rivers.” Thus the kings writ to one
another. In the mean time the Rhodians surrender’d
their city and port to Alexander. The king conferr’d
the government of Cilicia on Socrates, and that of
the country about Tyre to Philotas. As for Syria,
that they call Coele, Parmenio had resign’d it to An-
dromachus, that he might attend the king in the re-
maining part of the war. Alexander having order’d
Hephæstion to coast along Phœnicia with the fleet,
came with his whole army to the city Gaza. Now was
the time of celebrating the Isthmian games which are
us’d to be perform’d by the concurrence of all Greece.
As the Greeks are naturally time-servers, it was agreed
in this assembly, to depute twelve persons to the
king, to present him with a gold crown, as an ac-
knowledgment of his glorious victories, and of the
great things he had done for the liberty and safety
of Greece. Yet a little before, they were very inqui-
sitive about the success of the war, their wavering
minds being ready to strike in with which soever side
fortune should favour. However, not only the king
was employ’d in reducing those towns that refus’d to
submit to his authority, but his deputies also (who
were

were great captains) made several conquests. Calas subdu'd Paphlagonia; Antigonus, Lycaonia; and Eclacrus having defeated Idarnes, Darius's lieutenant, took Miletus; Amphoterus and Hegelochus, with a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships, brought all the islands between Achaia and Asia, under Alexander's obedience. They took possession also of Tenedos, by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants. They had a design to possess themselves of Chios, in the same manner; but Pharnabazus, Darius's admiral, having seiz'd those who favour'd the Macedonian faction, put the government of the town into the hands of Apollonides and Athanagoras (who were in the Persian interest) leaving them a small garrison for the defence of it. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Alexander's lieutenants continued the siege of the place, not relying so much on their own strength, as on the disposition of the besieged. Neither were they deceived in their opinion; for a dispute arising between Apollonides, and the chief officers that commanded the garrison, gave the enemy an opportunity of breaking into the town. A regiment of Macedonians having therefore forc'd one of the gates, the inhabitants, pursuant to the measures before concerted for the surrender of the place, join'd themselves to Amphoterus and Hegelochus, and having put the Persian garrison to the sword, deliver'd up Pharnabazus with Apollonides and Anathagoras bound, to the Macedonians. There were twelve gallies taken, with all their crew and mariners, besides thirty ships and barks belonging to pirates, with three thousand Greeks that were in the Persian pay. The Greeks serv'd to recruit the Macedonian forces, the pirates were put to death, and the captive rowers were distributed among the fleet. It happen'd that Aristonicus (who had a tyrannical power in Me-
thymna)

thymna) being ignorant of what had pass'd at Chios, came with some pyrates to the mouth of the haven, which was secur'd with a boom, it being then about the first watch, and being ask'd by the guard "Who he was?" he said, "He was Aristonicus, and came to the assistance of Pharnabazus." The guard made answer: "That Pharnabazus was taking his rest, and could not then be spoke with; however, as he was a friend and ally, he should have admittance into the port, and the next day be introduced to Pharnabazus." Aristonicus hereupon without hesitation enter'd the haven, follow'd by about ten pirates; but as they were making to the key, the guard shut up the haven as before, and having call'd to their assistance the whole corps, they took Aristonicus and all that were with him prisoners, without their making the least resistance; and having put chains upon them, deliver'd them up to Amphoterus and Hegelochus. From hence the Macedonians pass'd to Mitylene, which Chares the Athenian had lately possess'd himself of, having with him a garrison of about two thousand Persians; but finding himself too weak to hold out a long siege, he surrender'd the place, on condition to retire whither he pleas'd: so he went to Imbrus; and the Macedonians gave quarter to the garrison.



C H A P. VI.

DARIUS despairing of peace, which he thought he should have obtained by his letters and ambassadors, was now wholly intent on recruiting his forces, in order to renew the war with vigor. He therefore summon'd all his generals to meet at Babylon; but he in particular commanded Bessus, governor of the Bactrians, to get together as powerful an army as he could, and to come and join him. These Bactrians are the most warlike people of all those nations, being of a barbarous disposition, and not at all inclin'd to the Persian luxury. And as they border upon the Scythians, who are also a martial people, and accustomed to live by plunder, they were constantly in arms. But Bessus was suspected to be perfidiously inclin'd, and by his haughtiness (which made him dissatisfy'd with the second rank) gave Darius great uneasiness; for as he affected sovereignty, it was very much fear'd he would play the traitor, and being the readiest way to attain his end. In the mean time, Alexander used all his endeavours to get intelligence what country Darius was in, but to no purpose; the Persians being very religious concealers of their king's secrets: neither fear nor hope can force a discovery from them: the ancient discipline of their princes enjoining them to secrecy on pain of death. The intemperance of the tongue, is with them more severely punish'd than any other crime: nor can they imagine

imagine him to be capable of great matters, that finds a difficulty in being silent, a thing that nature has made so easy in it self. This was the cause why Alexander (being altogether ignorant of what the enemy was doing) laid siege to Gaza. Betis was its governor, and was a man of noted fidelity to his king, and tho' his garrison was but small, yet he defended the walls which were of a large compass. Alexander having viewed the situation of the place, order'd several mines to be made, which work was favour'd by the lightness of the ground, for the neighbouring sea discharg'd great quantities of sand upon it, and there were neither rocks nor stones to obstruct the work. The mines were begun on that side where they could not be perceiv'd by the besieged, and that they might have no suspicion of what was doing, the king gave orders to approach the towers to the walls. But the nature of the ground was no way proper for this work, for the sand sinking under the weight of the wheels, retarded their motion, and disconcerted the whole frame of the towers, so that the scaffold broke, and many of the soldiers were wounded thereby; besides, there was as much difficulty to bring the towers back, as there had been to carry them forward. Hereupon Alexander gave the signal for a retreat, and the next day he order'd the town to be surrounded; and as soon as the sun was up, before his army advanc'd to the charge, he offer'd sacrifice to the gods, after his country manner, to implore their assistance. While the king was thus employ'd, a raven happen'd to fly over him, and suddenly let go a lump of earth that it held in its claws, which falling on the king's head, broke in pieces; and the raven went and pitch'd on a tower hard by: the tower was besmear'd with pitch and brimstone, which catching hold of the raven's wings, so entangl'd

tangl'd its feathers, that it struggled in vain to fly away, and was taken by the standers-by. The accident was look'd upon to be important enough to have the soothsayers consulted about it, for Alexander was something inclin'd himself to that kind of superstition. Aristander, who was chiefly credited in this art, told the king that this omen portended the ruin of the city, but that he would be in danger of being wounded, and therefore advis'd him, "not to attempt any thing against it that day."

Altho' the king was very much concern'd that a single city should, by its obitnacy, hinder him from passing into Egypt with security, yet he thought it advisable to comply with the soothsayer's request, and accordingly gave the signal for the retreat. This so encourag'd the besieged, that sallying out, they attack'd the Macedonians in the rear, thinking that the enemy's delay ought to be their opportunity; but their constancy did not second their fury in the engagement; for, when they saw the Macedonians rally, they presently stopp'd again. By this time the shouts of those that were fighting reach'd the king, who presently flew to the assistance of his men, unmindful of the danger he had been warn'd of; however, at the intreaty of his friends, he put on his armour, which he otherwise rarely wore.

Here a certain Arabian, one of Darius's soldiers, ventur'd upon an action above his fortune, and covering his sword with his buckler, fell upon his knees before the king, as if he had deserted to him; whereupon the king "bid him rise, and order'd him to be receiv'd into his service;" but the Barbarian taking his sword courageously into his right hand, made at the king's head; who having declin'd the blow, at the same time cut off the disappointed hand of the Barbarian, and flatter'd himself that he was now clear'd

clear'd of the danger of the day. However fate, as I take it, is unavoidable, for as he was fighting gallantly among the foremost he was wounded with an arrow, which pass'd through his armour, and struck in his shoulder, from whence Philip, his physician, drew it. Now the blood began to run in a great quantity, and all that stood by were frighten'd, never having known an arrow penetrate so deep through armour before. As for Alexander, he did not so much as change his countenance, but bid them "stop the bleeding, and tie up the wound." Thus he remain'd some time at the head of the army, either dissembling or overcoming the pain; but when the blood that had been stopp'd by an application, began to run afresh in a larger quantity, and the wound (which by reason of its newness did not at first pain him) upon the cooling of the blood, began to swell, then he fainted and fell on his knees. They that were next to him took him up, and carry'd him into his tent, and Betis concluding him dead, return'd into the town in a triumphing manner; but the king, impatient of delay, (before his wound was cur'd) gave orders for a terrace to be rais'd as high as the city walls, which he commanded to be undermin'd. The besieg'd on their part were not idle, for they had erected a new fortification of equal height with the old wall, but that however did not come upon the level with the towers which were planted on the terrace, so that the inward parts of the town were expos'd to the enemies darts: and to compleat their hard fate, the walls were now overthrow'n by the mines, and gave the Macedonians an opportunity of entering the city at the breaches. The king was at the head of the foremost, and while he carelessly enter'd the place, his leg was hurt with a stone; notwithstanding which, leaning on his weapon,

pon, he fought among the first, tho' his old wound was not yet heal'd ; his resentment was the greater on the account of his having receiv'd two wounds in this siege. Betis having behav'd himself gallantly, and receiv'd several wounds, was at last forsaken by his men, yet this did not hinder him from fighting on, tho' his arms were grown slippery with his own and his enemies blood : but being attack'd on all sides, he was taken alive, and being brought before the king, who was overjoy'd that he had him in his power, inso-much that he that us'd to admire virtue, even in an enemy, giving way this time to revenge, told him, " Thou shalt not, Betis, dye as thou would'st, but " expect to undergo whatever torments ingenuity " can invent." At which threats, Betis, without making any reply, gave the king not only an undaunted, but an insolent look ; whereupon Alexander said, " Do you take notice of his obstinate silence : has " he either offer'd to kneel down, or made the least " submission ? however, I'll overcome his taciturnity, if by no other means, at least by groan " This said, his anger turn'd to rage, his fortune having already corrupted his manners, so that he order'd cords to be run thro' Betis's heels, and ty'd to the hinder part of a cart, and in that manner to be dragg'd alive round the city, valuing himself " for " having imitated Achilles (from whom he descended) in punishing his enemy."

In this action there perish'd about ten thousand Persians and Arabians, neither was it a bloodless victory to the Macedonians. The siege was not so considerable on the score of the character of the town, as for the two wounds the king receiv'd therein. After this the king (making the best of his way to Egypt) dispatch'd Amyntas with ten galleys to Macedonia to raise recruits ; for even his successful



battles diminish'd his army, and he had not the same confidence in foreign soldiers as in those of his own country.



C H A P. VII.

THE Egyptians had for a great while envy'd the Persian grandeur, and look'd upon their government to be both avaritious and insolent, so that at the rumour of Alexander's coming thither they began to take courage; for they were so dispos'd to revolt, that they had before joyfully receiv'd Amyn-tas the deserter, tho' his power was altogether precarious. They therefore flock'd in great numbers to Pelusium, thinking the king would enter that way, and he arriv'd in Egypt at a place called Alexander's camp, on the seventh day after he left Gaza. Here he gave orders to the foot to repair to Pelusium by land, while he, with some chosen troops was carry'd along the river Nilus. The Persians being terrify'd at the revolution, did not dare to wait his coming. He was by this time come within a little way of Memphis, where Mazaces commanded for Darius; but not daring to oppose Alexander, he made haste to pass the river, and brought the king eight hundred talents, and all the royal furniture. From Memphis he continu'd his course along the same river, and penetrated into the more inward parts of Egypt, and having settled the affairs of the nation so as to change none of their ancient customs, he resolv'd to visit the famous oracle of Jupiter Hammon. The way

thither was hardly practicable, even to a small number, without any incumbrance. There is a scarcity of water from heaven as well as earth, and nothing to be seen but barren sands, which when thoroughly heated by the sun, burn the soles of the feet: In fine, the heat is intolerable; but here is not only the excessive heat of the sun, and the drought of the country to be struggled with, but also with a tedious kind of gravel, which lies very deep, and sinking under the feet makes it very difficult to move. All these inconveniencies were magnify'd by the Egyptians: however, Alexander was resolv'd to gratify the ardent desire he had to visit Jupiter, whom he either really believ'd to be his father (not being satisfy'd with his mortal grandeur) or had a mind the world should think so: he embark'd therefore with those he design'd should accompany him, and sail'd down the river to the meer called Marcotis. While he was here, ambassadors came to him from the Cyrenians with presents, desiring peace, and that he would visit their towns; but the king having accepted their presents, and assur'd them of his friendship, pursu'd his intended journey. The first and second days fatigue seem'd tolerable, for they were not yet come to the vast, naked solitudes, tho' the ground here was barren, and as it were dead; but when those unbounded plains appear'd that are covered over with deep sands, they were at as great a loss to discover land as if they had been sailing on the deep. There was not so much as a tree to be seen, nor the least token of a cultivated soil; and they now wanted water, that which they carry'd with them upon camels being spent, and there was none to be had in those dry grounds and burning sands. Besides, the sun had parch'd up every thing, all was scorch'd and burnt. They were in this distress'd condition,
when,

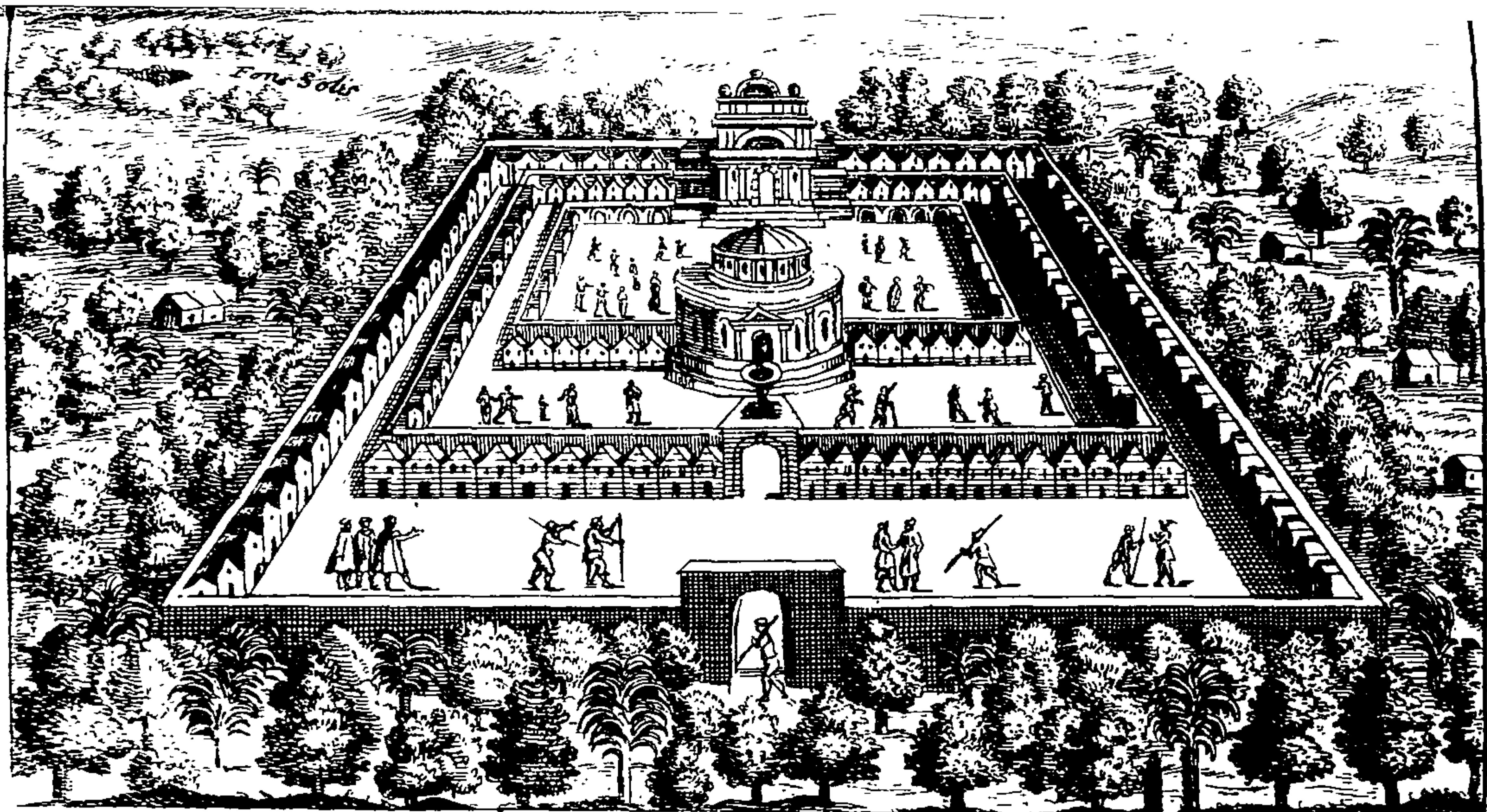
when, on the sudden, the sky was overcast with thick clouds which intercepted the sun, whether it were by accident, or ordain'd as a present from the gods to relieve their pressing calamity ; this is certain, it was a seasonable comfort to them (who were perishing with heat) even tho' they still wanted water : but when the storm broke out into a large copious rain, every one laid in his provision thereof ; some of them, unable any longer to bear their thirst, receiv'd it with open mouth as it fell. They had already spent four days in this vast solitude, and were not now far off of the seat of the oracle, when a great flock of ravens came towards them, and flew gently before their van, and sometimes pitch'd to give them time to come up ; and then taking wing again preceded them, shewing them the way, and as it were discharging the office of a guide. At last they reach'd the place which was consecrated to the god. It seems to surpass belief, that being situate in so wild a solitude, it should be encompass'd with trees that grew so thick as to skreen it on all sides from the piercing rays of the sun ; being at the same time water'd with so many gentle streams as were abundantly sufficient for the nourishment of these groves ; and to encrease the miracle, the air is here so temperate, that it resembles the spring, and is equally wholesome throughout all the seasons of the year. The people that inhabit the neighbourhood of this place are, on the east, the nighest of the Ethiopians ; and on the south those that face the Arabians, call'd Troglodytes, whose territory extends itself as far as the Red Sea ; to the westward it has other Ethiopians, called Scenitæ ; to the northward are the Nasamones, who are a people situate near the Syrtes, and enrich themselves by piracy, lying in wait upon the coast, ever ready to make a prey of those ships that are stranded,

K 2

being

being well acquainted with all the fords. The inhabitants of the wood, who are called Hammonians, live in cottages scatter'd up and down; the middle of the wood serves them for a citadel, being surrounded with a triple wall: within the first stands the ancient palace of their kings; in the second they keep their wives and children, as also their concubines; here likewise is the deity's oracle; and in the last were the prince's guards and men at arms. There is another wood also belonging to Hammon, in the middle of which is a fountain that they call the water of the sun: about break of day this water is lukewarm; in the middle of the day, when the heat of the sun is the greatest, the same water is very cold; towards the evening it grows warm again, and in the middle of the night it is scalding hot; and the nearer the night draws on to day, its nocturnal heat decreases, till about break of day it is lukewarm, as before. That which is ador'd for a god has not the same form, under which artificers use to represent the gods; it very much resembles a navel, being compos'd of an emerald and other precious stones. When it is consulted, the priests carry it in a golden ship, which is set off with a great many silver cups hanging on each side, and is follow'd by the matrons and virgins singing an uncouth sort of a hymn, and after their country manner, by which they imagine Jupiter "is prevail'd upon to render a certain oracle."

As the king advanc'd towards the oracle, the senior priest saluted him with the title of son, assuring him, "That Jupiter his father bestow'd it on him." To which he reply'd, "That he both accepted it and "acknowledg'd it;" for he had now forgot his human condition. Then he ask'd whether his father did design him the empire of the whole world? And the priest, who was equally dispos'd to flatter him, told



told him, “ he should be universal monarch of the whole earth.” Then he put another quære, viz. “ Whether all those who were concern’d in his father’s murder were punish’d ?” To this the priest made answer, “ That it was not in the power of any mortal to injure his father, but that all that had a hand in Philip’s death had suffered condign punishment.” He moreover added, “ that he should continue invincible till he took his place among the gods.” After this, he offer’d sacrifice, and made presents to the priests, and to the god ; after which his friends were likewise permitted to consult the oracle, but they only desir’d to know, “ Whether Jupiter approv’d of their paying divine honours to their king ?” The priest reply’d, “ That Jupiter was very well pleas’d they should pay divine worship to their victorious king.” Now whoever would judge sagely of the sincerity and credit of the oracle, might easily have perceiv’d it was all imposture by its answers ; but when once fortune has prevail’d with men to commit themselves entirely to her, she generally makes them more greedy of glory than capable of it.

Alexander therefore not only suffered himself to be call’d Jupiter’s son, but also commanded it ; and while he thought by this means to cast a greater splendour on his great actions, he lessen’d them. And notwithstanding the Macedonians were accusom’d to kingly government, yet as they retain’d still the shadow of a greater liberty than other nations, they more obstinately oppos’d his affected immortality than was expedient either to themselves or the king. But of these things we shall speak in their proper places ; and at present pursue the rest of his actions.



C H A P. VIII.

Alexander, in his return from Hammon, when he came to Palus Mareotis, which is not far distant from the Island Pharos, having consider'd the nature of the place, he design'd at first to build a city in the island itself; but upon reflection that the island was too small for such a purpose, he pitch'd upon that place where Alexandria now stands, taking its name from its founder: he took in all that space of ground that lies between the meer and the sea, allotting fourscore furlongs for the compass of the walls; and having appointed proper persons to supervise the building of the city, he went to Memphis.

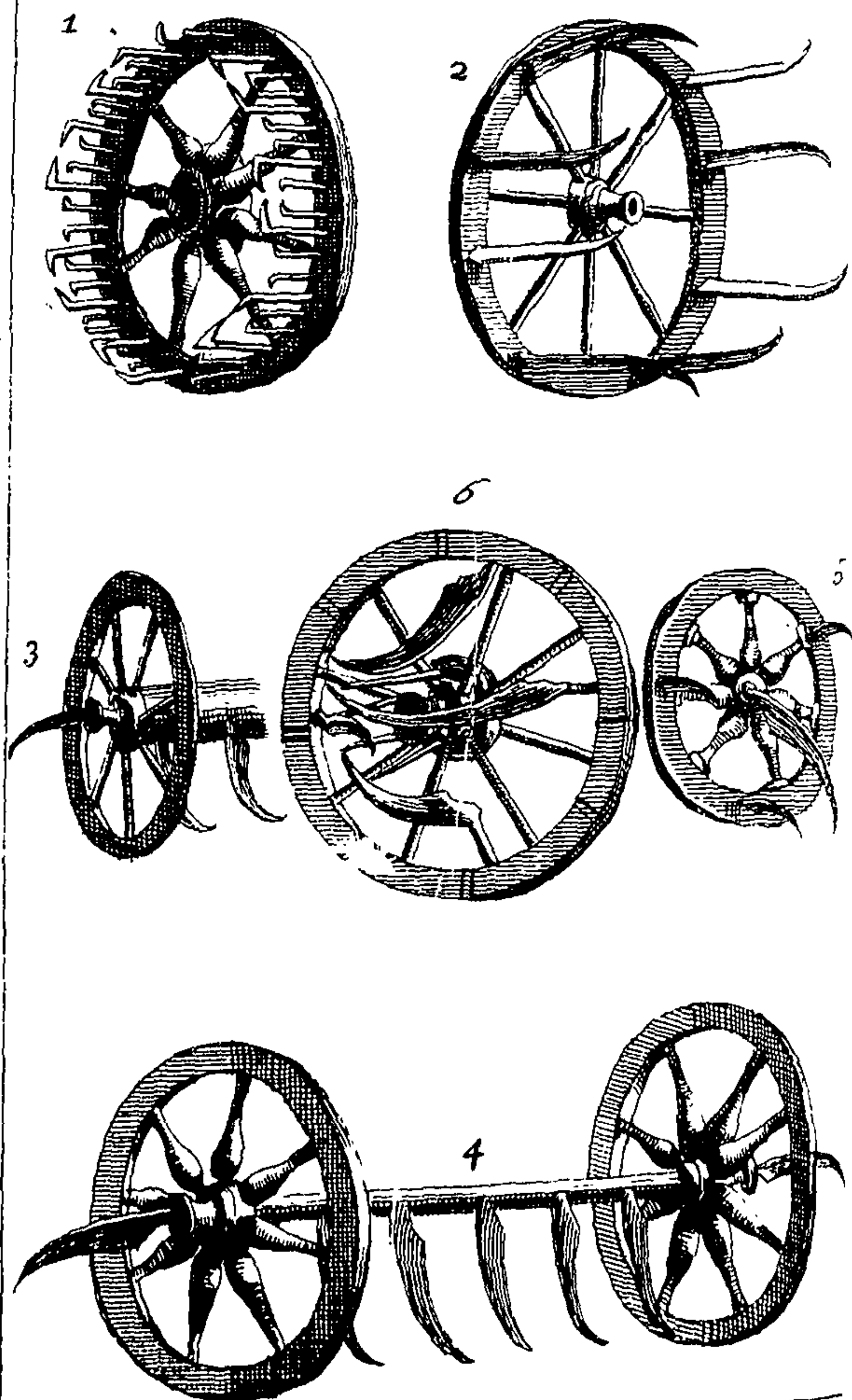
He was seiz'd with a desire (nowise to be blam'd indeed, had it been but well tim'd) to visit not only the inward parts of Egypt, but also Æthiopia. The celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was like to draw him (who was naturally greedy of the knowledge of antiquity) even beyond the bounds of the sun; but the war he had upon his hands, of which the most difficult part still remain'd, would not allow him time for those idle journeys; he therefore appointed Æschylus the Rhodian, and Peucestes the Macedonian, governors of Egypt, leaving with them four thousand men for the guard of the country, and allotted thirty gallies to Polemon to defend the mouths of the Nile; then he constituted Appollonius governor of that part of Africk that joins to Egypt, and made Cleomenes receiver of all the tributes arising from Afria and Egypt; and having commanded the inhabitants

bitants of the neighbouring towns to transplant themselves to Alexandria, he presently fill'd it with a great multitude of people. It is said, " That when the
" king was marking out the walls of the town,
" with a sort of paille made of barley-flower, according to the Macedonian custom, the birds came
" in flocks to devour it; and as that was by several
" interpreted as portending evil to the city in hand:
" the soothsayers, on the contrary, said it was a
" lucky omen, and that it indicated, that the city
" would be very much resorted to by strangers, and
" that she would afford subsistence to several countries."

The king, after this, was going down the river Nile, and Hector, Parmenio's son, (who was in the flower of his age, and in great favour with Alexander) being eager to follow him, enter'd into a little vessel, which had more people in it than it could carry, inasmuch that it sunk with all those that were on board it. However, Hector struggled a long time in the water, tho' his cloaths being thoroughly wet, and his shoes being closely ty'd to his feet, hinder'd him from swimming, and made a shift at last to gain the shore half dead; but as soon as he endeavoured to recover his breath, which fear and the danger had for some time suppress'd, there being no body at hand to assist him (for the rest had sav'd themselves on the other side) he expir'd. The king was mightily afflicted at this accident, and therefore bury'd his corps after a very magnificent manner.

This misfortune was aggravated by the account the king receiv'd of the death of Andromachus, his governor of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burnt alive. The king therefore march'd with the utmost expedition to revenge his death, but at his arrival they deliver'd him up the authors of so barbarous a crime, all whom he put to death, and then substituted

Memnon in his place. He also put the tyrants into the hands of the people they had oppressed, and among those of the Methymneans, Aristoniceus, and Chrysolaus, whom they first tortur'd in revenge of their insolence, and then executed, flinging them in contempt over the walls of the city. Then he gave audience to the ambassadors of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians; the Athenians congratulated him on his victories, and desired that the Greek captives might be restor'd to their respective cities: The Rhodians and the Chians complain'd of the garrisons, and as all their requests seem'd just, he gratify'd them. To those of Mitylene he restor'd their securities, in consideration of their fidelity; and the money they had advanc'd for the service of the war, adding a large tract of ground to their territories. He also honour'd the kings of Cyprus, according to the merit of their services, who had revolted from Darius to him, and had supply'd him with a fleet when he besieg'd Tyre. He afterwards sent Amphoterus, his admiral, to deliver Crete from the oppression of the Persians and pirates, but he enjoin'd him above all things, to clear the sea from the pyrates; for the two kings being intent upon the war, the seas were over-run with these plunderers. Having settled these matters, he dedicated to Hercules of Tyre, a large bowl and thirty cups of gold; then bending his thoughts altogether on Darius, he gave orders for the army to march towards the Euphrates.



ROTAE CURRUUM FALCATORUM

1. 2. Ultraque Raderi. prima ut ipse edidit. altera uti videtur
descripsisse in notis : 3. 4. J. Schaefferi ex l. de Re. Vehiculari
5. G. Stenochi ad Vegetium. 6. J. Porizonii in Curto Pandi



C H A P. IX.

BUT when Darius knew for certain that his enemy was march'd into Africa, he was unresolv'd whether he should stay in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, or should retire farther into his dominions; for he concluded he should be better able upon the place to influence those remote nations to engage heartily in the war, which the deputies found great difficulties to do; but then again being inform'd from good hands, "that Alexander was determin'd to follow him with his whole army into whatsoever country he went," as he was not ignorant of the indefatigable bravery of his adversary, "he sent orders to those remote nations, to send him all the succour they could to Babylon." The Bactrians, Scythians and Indians accordingly repair'd thither with the troops of the other nations; his army being by almost half more numerous than it was in Cilicia, a great many of those that compos'd it wanted arms, which were getting ready for them with the utmost diligence. The horses as well as the riders were provided with armour of iron. They who before had only darts had now swords and bucklers given them. And that his present army might be much stronger in horse than his former was, he distributed a great many horses to the foot to be broke.

There were besides two hundred chariots arm'd with scythes, which these nations look upon to be their chief strength, and very terrible to the enemy;

at the end of the pole were fix'd two pikes arm'd with iron spikes, the spokes of the wheels were compass'd round with several darts which pointed forward; and the fellies were arm'd with Scythes so dispos'd that they cut to pieces whatever stood in their way.

Having thus provided and fitted out his army, he set forwards from Babylon; on his right he had the Tigris, a noble river, and his left was cover'd with the Euphrates. His army was so numerous, that it fill'd all the plains of Mesopotamia; having therefore pass'd the river Tigris, and understanding the enemy was not far off, he sent before Satropates with a thousand chosen horse, and then detatch'd Mazaus with six thousand more, to hinder Alexander from passing the Euphrates; he was also commanded "to destroy and burn all the country that would be first expos'd to the enemy;" for he imagin'd, that not having any other provisions for his army than what he got by pillage, he might be overcome by mere want, whilst his own was plentifully supply'd with all necessaries both by land and by the Tigris. Darius was by this time come to Arbela, which he was destin'd to make glorious by his own memorable defeat; leaving here the greatest part of his baggage and provisions, he laid a bridge over the Lycus, and pass'd his army over it in five days, as he had done before over the Euphrates; then advancing about fourscore furlongs farther, he came to another river call'd Bumadus, where he encamp'd. This country was very convenient for his numerous army, being a plain open ground, and very commodious for the horse as being cover'd neither with bushes nor shrubs, so that the eye had an uninterrupted prospect to discover things at the remotest distance; and where it seem'd to swell into any thing of an eminence, he order'd

order'd it to be laid level with the rest. They that were sent by Alexander to take a view of the enemy's army, and who made an estimate of it by the great tract of ground it cover'd, could hardly convince him of the truth of their report; for he thought it impossible, that after so great a loss, he should now be stronger than he was at first. However, as he despis'd all danger in general, and particularly that from a superiority of number, he came in eleven days to the Euphrates; and having laid a bridge over it, he first pass'd his horse, and after them the phalanx: Mazæus, who had been sent with six thousand horse to oppose his passage, not daring to make trial of his fortune against him. Here having granted the soldiers a few days, not so much to rest their bodies as to confirm their minds, he eagerly pursu'd Darius; for he was afraid he might retire to the remotest parts of his dominions, and that then he should be oblig'd to follow him thro' vast wilds and desarts that were destitute of all necessaries. On the fourth day therefore he pass'd by Arbela and came to the Tigris. All the country beyond the river was yet smoking; for Mazæus set every thing on fire, as if he had been himself the enemy: and as the smoke had caus'd a great darkness, the king suspecting some ambuscade, halted for some time, till being inform'd by some scouts that there was no danger, he order'd some horsemen to try the depth of the ford of the river: at first it took the horses up to the belly, and in the middle it reach'd their necks.

In all the eastern parts there is not any river that runs with so great a rapidity, many torrents falling into it, so that it carries even great stones along with its stream: from the swiftness of its current, it bore the name of Tigris; because an arrow in the Persian language is call'd Tigris. The foot being divided

into two bodies, and encompass'd with the horse, carry'd their arms over their head, and in that order pass'd without much difficulty, till they came where the river was deepest. The king pass'd over among the foot, and was the first that gain'd the other side; from whence he made signs to the soldiers with his hand, because his voice could nor be heard, where the ford was shallowest. But they had much to do to keep their legs; sometimes the violence of the water tripping up their heels. But they that were loaded were hardest put to it; for as they were hinder'd from governing themselves, they were carry'd away by the rapidity of the whirlpools: and as every one endeavour'd to recover what he had lost, they struggl'd more among themselves than with the stream: besides, the bundles that floated on the water bore down a great many of them. Hereupon the king cry'd out to them, only to take care of their arms, and that he would make good their other losses. But they neither hearken'd to his counsel, nor obey'd his commands, for fear; besides, their own mutual clamour made them incapable of hearing either. At last they got where the current flows after a gentle manner, and so gain'd the shore, without any other damage than the loss of a little lumber.

Here the army might have been totally destroy'd, had any body dar'd to conquer; but the king's constant good fortune kept the enemy at a distance. Thus he pass'd the Granicus in the sight of so many thousand horse and foot, that were drawn up on the other side of the river: thus the straits of Cilicia serv'd him to vanquish so vast a multitude of his enemies. And notwithstanding he might seem bold to excess, yet he cannot well be censur'd for it, because his continual success never afforded an opportunity to conclude him rash.

Mazæus (who, if he had come upon them while they were passing the river, might without doubt have destroy'd them in that disorder) never appear'd till they had gain'd the shore, and stood to their arms. He had sent only a thousand horse before him, which Alexander perceiving, he despis'd the insignificant number, and presently commanded Ariston, who was captain of the Pæonian horse, to charge them briskly. In this action the Pæonians behav'd themselves gallantly, but particularly Ariston, who with his spear run Satropates, the Persian commander, into the throat, and pursuing him through the midst of the enemies, threw him off his horse, and notwithstanding his resistance, cut off his head, which he brought, and laid down at the king's feet, who applauded his resolution and bravery.



C H A P. X.

TH E king encamp'd here two days, and order'd the army to be ready to march the next; but about the first watch the moon suffer'd an eclipse, and first lost its planetary brightness, after which it was overcast with a bloody colour, that fully'd all its light. And as the soldiers were already solicitous on the account of the approaching battle, this accident struck them first with a superstitious awe, which was succeeded by fear; insomuch that they complain'd, "that they were dragg'd into the remotest countries against the will of the gods; that the
rivers

“ rivers deny’d them passage, and the planets refus’d
“ them their usual light. That nothing but vast
“ wilds and desarts were to be seen; that the blood
“ of so many thousand men must be spilt to gratify
“ the vanity of one man, who not only disdain’d
“ his native country and disown’d his father Philip,
“ but let his vain thoughts climb to heaven for his
“ original.” The matter was almost come to a sedition, when Alexander, who was always undaunted, gave orders “ for all the officers to repair to his tent; where he commanded the Ægyptian astronomers (whom he look’d upon to be the best acquainted with the course of the heavens and the planets) “ to declare their opinion concerning the present phenomenon.” But tho’ they were not ignorant that time has its constant revolutions, and that the moon suffers an eclipse whenever it gets in the shadow of the earth, or was obscured by the sun, they did not trouble themselves to divulge their knowledge to the publick, but only affirm’d, “ that the sun was the
“ Greeks planet, and the moon the Persians: and that whenever this was eclips’d, “ it portended destruction and ruin to these nations.” And for proof hereof, they relate several instances of the Persian kings, who were warn’d “ by the eclipse of the
“ moon, that they fought against the will of the gods.”

There is nothing has so great an influence over the minds of the vulgar, as superstition; tho’ it be otherwise violent, furious, and unconstant, let it but be seiz’d with a vain religion, and it shall more readily obey the prophets than the governors.

The answer of the Ægyptians therefore being communicated to the multitude, reviv’d their drooping hopes, and animated them with fresh assurance. The king thinking it best to make use of their present disposition, decamp’d at the second watch; he had the
Tigris

Tigris on his right, and on his left, the Gordæan hills. As he was marching this way, his scouts came to him about break of day, to let him know “ that Darius was advancing towards him.” Hereupon he drew up his army in order of battle, being himself at the head, and so continu’d his march : but it prov’d to be only the Persian scouts consisting of about a thousand men, who made a great appearance. “ Thus when the truth cannot be discover’d, fear swells the account into falsities. The king understanding the truth of the matter, took with him a small number of men and pursu’d the enemy, who presently fled back to their main body ; however, he kill’d some, and took others prisoners ; and then dispatch’d a detachment of horse to get intelligence of the enemy, and to put out the fires the Barbarians had kindled up and down in order to destroy the villages : for before they took to their heels, they set fire to the roofs of the houses, and to the stacks of corn, so that the flames having burnt only the upper part, and being there quenched, had not yet forc’d its way to the lower. The fires being thus put out, they found great quantities of corn, and began also to have plenty of other necessaries. This encourag’d the soldiers to pursue the enemy, who burnt and laid the country waste ; it being necessary for the Macedonians to make what haste they could after them, to prevent every thing being consum’d. Thus necessity supply’d the place of reason ; for Mazæus, who before destroy’d every thing at leisure, was at present contented to fly, and left a great deal behind him entire and untouch’d.

Alexander was now inform’d, that Darius was come within a hundred and fifty furlongs of him : hereupon, having with him plenty of provisions, he staid in his camp four days. While he remain’d here, some letters were intercepted that came from
Darius,

Darius, whereby the Greeks were solicited “to kill
“or betray the king :” Alexander was for some
time doubtful “whether he should read them to the
“whole army or not,” because he was pretty well
assur’d of the good-will and fidelity of the Greeks:
but Parmenio put him off of it, by telling him, that
it was not convenient to communicate such things to
soldiers, “since the king lay expos’d thereby to any
“one of them that would be a traitor: besides ava-
“rice thought nothing a crime.” The king follow-
ing this advice, decamp’d. Upon the march one of
the captive eunuchs, that attended Darius’s queen,
brought him word, “that the queen had fainted,
“and drew her breath with difficulty.” The great
fatigue of the journey, and grief of mind, had so
wrought upon her, that she swooned away between
her mother-in-law and her two daughters, and so
died; which was immediately notify’d to him by a-
nother messenger. This surprizing accident so touch’d
the king, that he could not have shewn more concern,
had he receiv’d advice of the death of his own mo-
ther. He sigh’d, and even wept as Darius himself
would have done, and immediately repair’d to the
tent, where Darius’s mother was sitting by the corps
of the deceased. Here the king’s grief renew’d,
when he beheld her extended on the ground, Da-
rius’s mother also, being by this fresh evil put in
mind of past misfortunes, had took the two young
virgins in her lap, by the way of mutual comfort;
tho’ she ought to have been their comforter. The
young prince stood likewise before her, and was by
so much the more to be pitied, that he was not
yet sensible of the calamity, though his was the great-
est share. Any body would have thought Alexander
had been lamenting some of his own relations; and
instead of giving comfort, stood in need of it
himself. He abstain’d from eating, and order’d the
su-

funeral to be perform'd after the Persian manner ; and seem'd then to deserve the reward he has since had for his good-nature and continency. He had never seen her but once, which was the day she was taken prisoner, and even then it was Darius's mother, and not her that he went to visit. He was so far from receiving any impression of lust from her excellent beauty, that it only serv'd to excite him to glory and honour. While grief fill'd all the place, one of the eunuchs that attended the queen, named Tyriotes, got out at a gate, which was not very strictly guarded, because it was on the back-side of the camp, and fled to the Persian camp ; and being taken up by the guard, was brought before Darius, lamenting and tearing his clothes. As soon as Darius saw him in this condition, he was disturb'd with variety of thoughts, and hardly knew what chiefly to fear : “ Thy looks, said he, bespeak some
“ great misfortune ; but whatever it be, be sure to
“ conceal nothing from me, for by my repeated calamities, I have learn'd to be unhappy ; and
“ sometimes even to know one's misery is a comfort :
“ say then, dost thou bring me (which is what I
“ most suspect, and dread to utter) an account of
“ the violation of my family's honour, which to
“ me, and I suppose to them, would be more
“ afflicting than the greatest torments ?” To which Tyriotes reply'd, “ Sir, there is nothing, I assure
“ you, of what you fear : for whatever honours are
“ paid by subjects to queens, are duly paid to yours
“ by the conqueror ; but your royal consort is just
“ now dead.” At these words, the whole camp was fill'd with cries and lamentations : and Darius no longer doubted, but she had been kill'd for refusing to yield up her honour : and distracted with grief, he broke out in these exclamations, “ What crime
“ have I committed, Alexander ? which of your relations

“ lations have I put to death, that you should punish
“ my cruelty after this manner ! you hate me without
“ provocation ; but admitting your war to be just,
“ ought you for that to wreak your revenge on wo-
“ men ?” Hereupon Tyriotes swore, by the tutel-
lar gods of the country, “ That no ill usage had
“ been offer’d her, but on the contrary, that Alexan-
“ der express’d no less grief for her death, than he
“ himself could do, who was her husband.” These
words increas’d his anxiety, and gave him greater sus-
picion that this tenderness proceeded from the familiar
conversation he had with her ; dismissing therefore all
that were present, except Tyriotes only, he now no
longer wept, but sighing said, “ Look thee, Ty-
“ riotes, thou must not think to put me off with
“ lies ; for torments presently shall express the truth
“ from thee : but I conjure thee, by the gods. not
“ to keep me so long in suspense ; if thou hast any
“ veneration for thy king, tell me what I desire to
“ know, and am asham’d to utter, did not the
“ youthful conqueror offer violence to her ?” Then
Tyriotes offer’d “ to suffer the rack, and called the
“ gods to witness, that the queen had been us’d
“ with all the respect the strictest virtue could re-
“ quire.” At last, Darius being convinc’d of the
“ truth of what the eunuch said, he cover’d his
head, and wept a long time ; and the tears still flow-
ing from his eyes, he uncover’d his face, and holding
up his hands to heaven, he said, “ Ye tutelary gods
“ of my dominions, my first request is, that you
“ would vouchsafe to confirm my kingdom to my-
“ self ; but if my ruin be determin’d, I beg no
“ other may be admitted king of Asia, than this just
“ enemy, this merciful conqueror.”

C H A P.



C H A P. XI.

NOtwithstanding Darius had twice ask'd for peace without obtaining it, and thereupon had bent his whole mind to war; yet, overcome by the virtue of his enemy, he made choice of ten of the chiefest of his relations to make fresh overtures; whom Alexander admitted, having summon'd his council to attend on that occasion. Then the eldest of the ambassadors told him, “ That Darius did now a third
“ time desire peace of him, not that he was compell'd to it by any force or necessity, but mov'd
“ thereto by his justice and continency. That such
“ was his generous behaviour to his mother, his
“ wife, and his children, that he should hardly think
“ them to be captives, but because they were not
“ with himself. You shew a fatherly care of those
“ that are yet living, and honour them with the
“ title of queens; leaving to them all the splendor
“ of their former fortunes. I can read as much
“ concern in your looks, as there was in Darius's
“ when we left him, and yet he bewails the loss of a
“ wife, and you only that of an enemy: and were
“ it not for your pious care of her funeral, you
“ would now have been at the head of your army,
“ drawn up in order of battle. Now where is the
“ great wonder, if being overcome by so much
“ bounty and friendly usage, he desires peace of
“ you? what occasion is there for arms where there
“ is no hatred? Heretofore he offer'd you the river
“ Halys, that terminates Lydia, for the bounds of
“ your empire. Now he proffers you all the coun-
tries

“ tries that lie between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, as a portion with his daughter, whom he
“ freely gives you in marriage. He moreover offers
“ to leave with you his son Ochus as a pledge of
“ the peace, and his integrity. He only requires
“ you will restore to him his mother and eight
“ daughters; for which you shall receive thirty
“ thousand talents of gold. Were I not already con-
“ vinc’d of your moderation, I would not remind
“ you, that at this juncture, it were your interest
“ not only to grant peace, but even to make appli-
“ cation for it. Do but look back on the vast
“ countries you leave behind you, and take a view in
“ thought, of what still remains to conquer. An
“ overgrown unwieldly empire is always in danger,
“ and it is a difficult thing to hold fast what you
“ cannot grasp. We see those ships that are of an
“ unwieldly bulk are not easily governed. And I
“ cannot tell, but Darius therefore lost so much, be-
“ cause too much wealth first furnishes opportunities
“ for greater losses. There are some things much
“ easier to acquire than to keep: with how much
“ more ease do our hands snatch things away, than
“ hold them afterwards? even the death of Darius’s
“ queen, may make you sensible that you have not
“ now so much room left you to shew your merciful
“ temper as before.”

The ambassador having finish’d his speech, Alexander ordered them to withdraw, and required those of his council to speak their opinions. They all remain’d silent for some time, not daring to declare their sentiments, by reason they were uncertain how the king himself was dispos’d: at last, Parmenio spoke to this effect. “ I was of opinion heretofore,
“ Sir, that the prisoners should have been restor’d to
“ those that would have redeem’d them at Damascus
“ by

“ by which means a considerable sum of money
“ might have been rais’d ; whereas, while you detain
“ them, they only deprive you of the service of a
“ great many brave hands ; and I cannot but think
“ it now advisable to make an exchange of an old
“ woman, and two young girls (which like a trou-
“ blefome luggage, only retard your marches) for
“ thirty thousand talents of gold. Besides, here is a
“ noble kingdom to be had by agreement, without
“ fo much as running the risk of an uncertain war ;
“ none before you ever having possess’d all that vast
“ tract of land that lies between the Ifter and the
“ Euphrates. Turn therefore your thoughts, Sir,
“ upon Macedonia, rather than on Bactra or the In-
“ dies.” The king was very much displeas’d with
this fpeech ; and therefore, as foon as he had con-
cluded it, he faid, “ And I alfo would prefer money
“ to glory, if I were Parmenio. But I am Alexan-
“ der ; I am fecure from poverty, and I confider
“ that I am no merchant, but a king. I don’t pre-
“ tend to fell any thing ; my reputation, you may
“ be fure, I will never fell. If it be advisable to
“ reftore the captives, it is more honourable to
“ deliver them up gratis, than for a fum of money.”
Then calling in the ambaffadors, he made them this
answer : “ Tell Darius (for the ceremony of thanks
“ is fuperfluous between enemies) that the acts of
“ clemency and generofity that I have done, were
“ not intended to procure his friendship, but were
“ the real effects of my own good nature : for I
“ don’t pretend to fhew hostilities to thofe in afflic-
“ tion ; my arms are defigned for an armed enemy.
“ If he fincerely fu’d for peace, perhaps I might de-
“ liberate whether I fhould give it or not. But fince
“ he has not only follicited my foldiers to revolt, but
“ alfo endeavour’d to corrupt my friends with mo-
“ ney

“ney to destroy me, I think myself oblig’d to pur-
“sue him to destruction, not as a just enemy, but as
“a ruffian and a murtherer. As for the conditions
“he offers me, they are such, that to receive them,
“were to acknowledge him conqueror. He proffers
“me all behind the Euphrates; does he shew his li-
“berality in that? where am I at this instant you
“address to me? am I not got beyond the Euphra-
“tes? it is plain then, that I am already encamp’d
“beyond the bounds he offers me with his
“daughter.

“Drive me then from hence, that I may be sen-
“sible that what you yield to me is your own. He
“shews his liberality much after the same rate, when
“he offers me his daughter: would he not otherwise
“marry her to some of his servants? It’s a mighty
“favour he does me, to prefer me to Mazæus. Go
“therefore and tell your king, that what he has al-
“ready lost, and what he has still to lose, is all to
“be the reward of war and victory. That this
“must determine the bounds of both empires, and
“each shall be content with what fortune shall allot
“him to-morrow. If he would be contented with
“the second rank, and not insist on being upon an
“equality with me, may be I might grant what he
“asks; for I did not come into Asia to receive, but
“to give. Tell him then, that as the celestial world
“cannot be govern’d by two suns, so it is incon-
“sistent with the welfare of the terrestrial one, to be
“rul’d by two powerful kingdoms. Let him there-
“fore resolve to surrender himself to-day, or pre-
“pare for battle to-morrow: let him not flatter him-
“self with the hopes of better fortune than what he
“has already experienc’d.” To this the ambassadors
answer’d: “That since he was bent on war, it was
“candidly done of him not to amuse them with the
“hopes

“ hopes of a peace. They therefore desir’d, they
 “ might forthwith repair to their prince, since it
 “ was necessary he should likewise prepare himself
 “ for battle.” And being accordingly dismiss’d,
 they acquainted Darius, “ That he was on the
 “ point of an engagement.”



C H A P. XII.

HEREUPON he immediately dispatch’d Mazæus
 with three thousand horse, to take possession of
 the passes; and Alexander having perform’d the fu-
 neral of Darius’s queen, left the heavy baggage, and
 whatever could retard his march, within the camp,
 appointing a small guard for its security, and then
 advanc’d towards the enemy. He divided his foot
 into two bodies, and posted the cavalry on the right
 and left of it. The carriages follow’d in the rear.
 Then he sent Menidas with a party of horse to dis-
 cover where Darius was. But he not daring to ad-
 vance very far, because Mazæus lay in his way, re-
 turn’d and told Alexander that there was nothing to
 be heard but the noise of men, and the neighing of
 horses. On the other side, Mazæus perceiving the
 Macedonian scouts at a distance, return’d to the
 camp, and acquainted Darius with the approach of
 the enemy; and as he was desirous of deciding the
 matter in the open plains, he commanded his soldiers
 to take to their arms, and drew them up in order of
 battle. In the left wing were the Bactrian horse, to
 the number of a thousand; there were as many
 Dahæ

Dahæ, with four thousand Arachosians and Sæfæ. These were follow'd by fifty chariots arm'd with scythes : next unto them was Bessus, with eight thousand Bactrian horse, and two thousand Massagetae : then came the foot of several nations, not mix'd, but in a distinct order, each in their respective company. Then follow'd Ariobarzanes and Orodates, who led up the Persians, and had also with them the Medians and Sogdians. These two generals had their particular commands, but Orsines commanded the part of the army in chief. He was descended from some of the seven Persians, and even deriv'd himself from Cyprus. These were succeeded by other nations hardly known to their associates. After these came Pluradates, with the Caspian forces, and fifty chariots of war : behind these were the Indians, and the other nations that inhabit along the coast of the red-sea, rather mere names than auxiliaries. This body was follow'd by fifty other armed chariots, which were join'd by the foreigners : after these came the Armenians, distinguish'd by the title of lesser. The Babylonians follow'd these, and both were clos'd by the Belitæ, and those who inhabit the Cossæan hills. After these march'd the Gortuans, Aribæans originally, and had formerly follow'd the Medians, but were now degenerated, and wholly ignorant of the customs of their country. The Phrygians and Catahonians, and then the Parthians who formerly came out of Scythia, brought up the rear. This was the order of the left wing. The right was form'd by the troops of the greater Armenia, the Cadusians, Cappadocians, Syrians, and Medians ; these had likewise with them fifty arm'd chariots. The total of the army amounted to forty five thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. Being drawn up after this manner, they advanc'd ten furlongs,

furlongs, and then were commanded to halt, and expect the enemy under their arms.

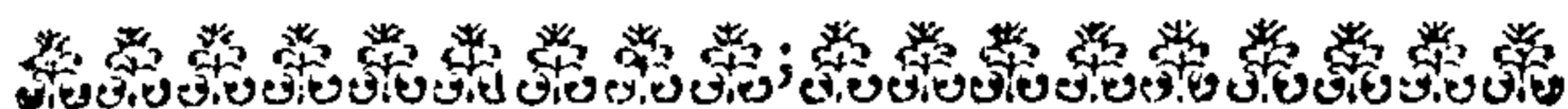
At this very juncture a sudden fear, of which no cause could be given, seiz'd Alexander's army, every one was amaz'd, and a secret dread spread itself over all their hearts. The brightness from the clouds (it being summer-time) at a distance appear'd to them like so many flaming fires round about them, which they took for those of Darius's camp; so that they were afraid they had inconsiderately advanc'd amongst the enemies guards. Had but Mazæus fallen upon them, while they were still possess'd with this fear, he might have given them a great blow. But he remain'd idle on the eminence he had taken possession of, very well pleas'd that he was not attack'd himself.

Alexander being inform'd of the fright his army was in, "order'd the signal to be given for a halt," and then commanded them "to lay down their arms, and rest their bodies;" giving them to understand, "That there was no cause at all for their fear, the enemy being yet at a good distance." At last they recover'd their spirits and resum'd their arms: however, Alexander thought it the best way to remain in that very place where he then was, and fortify his camp.

The next day Mazæus, who had posted himself (as we said) on an eminence from whence he could discover the Macedonian's camp; whether it were because he had no other orders than barely to take a view of the enemy, repair'd to Darius. Hereupon the Macedonians presently took possession of his post, for it was safer than the plain, and they could from thence take a prospect of the Persian army. For notwithstanding the moist hills sent up such a mist as hinder'd them from taking a distinct view of their se-

veral divisions and their order of battle, yet it did not hinder them from a general survey. The multitude overspread the plains like an inundation, and the noise of so many thousands, even at that distance, fill'd their ears.

The king began now to waver in his mind, and, tho' it was too late, would sometimes weigh his own resolution, and sometimes Parmenio's advice; for he was advanc'd so far, that he could not retire with any manner of safety, without he were victorious. He was alarm'd at the vast multitude of his enemy, in comparison of his own small number: but then again he recall'd to mind the many great actions he had achiev'd with that little army, and the many nations he had conquer'd with it. So that hope having got the better of fear, and concluding that delays were dangerous, since thereby despair might gain ground on the minds of his men, he disssembled his thoughts, and commanded the mercenary Pæonian horse to advance. And having divided his phalanx, as we said before, into two bodies, he plac'd his cavalry on each wing. By this time the mist was clear'd up, so that Darius's army was plainly to be seen: and the Macedonians, whether out of alacrity, or being tir'd with the tediousness of any longer delay, gave a great shout, after the manner of armies before they engage; and the Persians return'd the same, filling the neighbouring woods and vallies with a dreadful sound. And notwithstanding the Macedonians could hardly be hinder'd from rushing furiously on the enemy, yet Alexander thought it still more advisable to fortify his camp on the hill, and accordingly order'd a trench to be cast up round it; and the work being speedily perform'd, he repair'd to his tent, from whence he could behold the enemy's whole army.



C H A P. XIII.

HERE a perfect image of the ensuing danger, presented itself before his eyes ; the horses, as well as men, glitter'd in armor, and the care the generals took to ride through the ranks of their respective divisions, made him sensible that the enemy was preparing with all possible diligence for the approaching battle ; besides several things, which tho' of little moment themselves, such as the noise of the multitude, the neighing of the horses, the brightness of their arms, disturb'd his mind that was full of solicitude for the future event.

Therefore whether he was yet unresolv'd, or by the way of trial, to know how they stood affected, he call'd a council, and ask'd them what they thought most advisable in the present juncture. Parmenio (who was the most experienc'd of all the generals in the art of war) was rather for surprising the enemy, than for an open battle. He said, " they might
 " easily be vanquish'd in the dead time of the night.
 " For as they consisted of nations so different in their
 " custom and speech, how would they be able, in
 " the confusion of the night, ever to rally, if set
 " upon in their sleep, and terrify'd with the unfore-
 " seen danger ? whereas, in the day-time, the fright-
 " ful aspects of the Scythians and Bactrians, with
 " their rough visages and long hair, and the mon-
 " strous size of their vast bodies, might strike a
 " dread in the soldiers, who are more liable to re-
 " ceive impressions from trifles, than from realities ;
 " moreover,

“ moreover, their small number would be in danger
“ of being surrounded by so great a multitude; for
“ they had not now the straits of Cilicia, and nar-
“ row passes to fight in, but the plains and open
“ fields.” They were almost all of Parmenio’s opi-
nion; and Polypercon did not scruple to declare.
“ That the victory depended on the execution of it.”
The king therefore looking on Polypercon (for as he
had lately been severer with Parmenio than he wish’d,
he could not find in his heart to reprove him again)
said, “ This subtle wisdom you advise me to, belongs
“ to thieves and robbers; for their chief aim is to
“ deceive. But I shall not always suffer either Da-
“ rius’s absence, or the straitness of the place, or a
“ surprize in the night, to obstruct me of my glory.
“ I am determin’d to attack him openly, and had
“ rather have occasion to blame my fortune, than be
“ ashamed of my victory. Besides, I am very well
“ assur’d, that the Persians keep strict guards, and
“ stand to their arms, so that it were impossible to
“ fall upon them at unawares. Wherefore prepare
“ yourselves for battle.”

Having thus encourag’d them, he dismiss’d them
to refresh themselves. Now Darius imagining the
enemy would have done as Parmenio propos’d, had
order’d, “ That the horses should stand ready bridled
“ all the night, and a great part of the army to be
“ under their arms, and the watches to be stricter
“ kept than usually.” His whole camp was illumi-
nated with fires; and he himself with his generals
and relations rid about the divisions that were upon
duty.” Then invoking “ the sun that they call
“ Mithres, and the sacred and eternal fire, to inspire
“ his army with a courage worthy their antient glory,
“ and the acts of their predecessors; and declar’d,
“ that if it was possible for the mind of man to guess

“ &c.

“ at tokens of the divine assistance, it was plain,
 “ that the gods were on their side. It was they who
 “ struck the Macedonians lately with a sudden fear ;
 “ they being still in great confusion, as appear’d by
 “ their running about and flinging down their arms :
 “ that the time was now at hand, that the tutelary
 “ gods of Persia had pitch’d upon to punish those
 “ mad men, and that their general was no wiser
 “ than the rest. For after the manner of wild beasts,
 “ he look’d so greedily upon his prey, as, like them,
 “ to fall into the snares which were set before it.”

The Macedonians were in the same solicitude, and
 pass’d that night in as much fear as if the battle had
 been to be then fought. Alexander himself was
 more terrify’d than ever he had been before, and
 call’d for Aristander to offer up vows and prayers.
 He therefore being cloath’d in white, and carrying
 sacred herbs in his hand, with his head covered,
 pray’d with the king, who implor’d the protection of
 Jupiter, Minerva, and Victory. Afterward having
 offer’d sacrifice, according to their rites, he return’d
 to his tent to take his rest the remainder of the night.
 But he could neither sleep nor compose the disturbance
 of his mind. One while he resolv’d to charge the
 Persians right wing first, sometimes he thought it best
 to attack their main body, and then again he doubted
 whether it might not be more advisable to fall upon
 their left wing. At last his body being tir’d with the
 anxiety of his mind, he fell into a profound sleep.
 As soon as it was light, the officers repair’d to his tent
 to receive orders, and were much surprized at the un-
 usual silence they found there. For he us’d to send for
 them, and sometimes reprimand their laziness ; they
 therefore wonder’d, that being on the very brink of
 danger, he was not yet stirring ; some were of opi-
 nion he did not rest, but shrink’d out of fear : at the

same

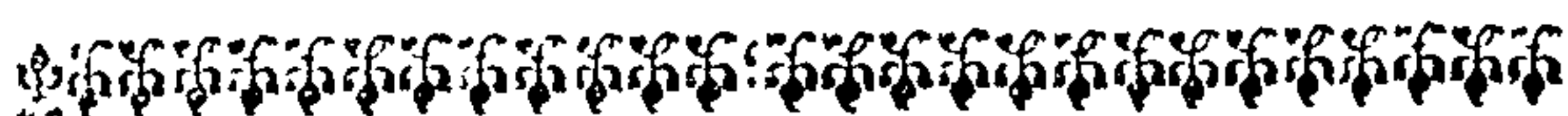
same time none of the guards dar'd to enter the tent, and yet the time of action drew nigh, and the soldiers did not dare to take to their arms, or form their ranks, without the general's orders. Parmenio therefore having waited a considerable time, commanded them to refresh themselves; and there being a necessity now for the drawing up of the army, he went into the tent, and not being able to wake the king by calling upon him, he touch'd him with his hand, and told him, "it was broad day, and the enemy was
"advancing towards them in order of battle; while
"your soldiers, for want of orders, are still without
"their arms. What is become, Sir, of your wonted
"vigour of mind? you us'd to prevent the most
"early." To this Alexander reply'd, "Do you
"think it was possible for me to compose myself to
"rest, till I had calm'd the anxiety of my thoughts?" This said, "he commanded him to give the signal
"for battle." But as Parmenio persisted in his admiration "how he could sleep so securely?" he told him, "there was no reason to wonder at it;
"for while Darius was burning the country, destroying the towns and villages, and spoiling the
"provisions, it was impossible for him to be easy;
"but now that he prepares to give me battle, what
"should I fear? he has now granted me all I desire.
"However, I shall satisfy you farther hereafter, as to
"this matter; in the mean time every one of you
"repair to your respective commands, and I'll be
"with you presently, and then I'll tell you what
"you are to do."

He very rarely hearken'd to the admonitions of his friends when danger was at hand; however, now having put on his armour, he came to the army. The soldiers had never seen him so chearful before, and they conjectur'd from his undaunted countenance, that the day was their own.

The

The king first of all, order'd them to level the works, and then drew up the army after this manner. In the right wing were those horse which they call Agema, commanded by Clitus, to whom he join'd Philotas's troop, and the cavalry of several other commanders; the last regiment was that of Meleager, next came the phalanx. After the phalanx, were the Agyraspides; these were commanded by Nicanor, Parmenio's son. Ctenos with his troops, were a body of reserve; after him were Orestes and Lynceus, and next to these Polypercon, who commanded the foreigners. Amyntas had the chief command of this division. Philagus led the Balacri, who were lately took into the alliance. This was the disposition of the right wing. In the left was Craterus with the Peloponnesian horse, and with him were also the Achæians, Locrensiens, and Malæans: these were clos'd by the Thessalian horse, commanded by Philip. The foot were covered by the horse. This was the order of the left wing. Now, that he might not be surrounded by the multitude, he had posted a strong body of reserve in the rear, and had on the wings, troops in readiness to relieve in such a case; not fronting as the rest of the army did, but on the flanks, that in case the enemy endeavour'd to surround them, they might be ready to engage them. Here were posted the Agrians, commanded by Atalus, as also the Cretan archers. The ranks in the rear, were to front outwardly, that the army might be secure every way. Here were the Illyrians, with the mercenaries, and the light-arm'd Thracians. In fine, he had so dispos'd his army, that it fronted every way, and was ready to engage on all sides, if attempted to be encompass'd: thus the front was not better secured than the flanks, nor the flanks better provided for than the rear.

He order'd them, " That in case the Barbarians
" let loose their arm'd chariots with shouts among
" them, to open to the right and left, and let them
" silently pass by," being well assur'd they would
do no mischief if they were not oppos'd in their passage.
" But if they sent them upon them without
" shouting, that then they should terrify them with
" their exclamations, and stick the affrighted horses
" with their darts." They that commanded the
wings, were ordered " to extend them as much as
" they could, without leaving the center too thin,
" that they might not, by too close an order, be in
" danger of being furrounded." The baggage and
prisoners (amongst whom were Darius's mother and
children) were plac'd on a rising ground not far from
the army, with a moderate guard. The left was
commanded by Parmenio, as it us'd to be, and the
king himself commanded the right. The armies
were not come within the cast of their darts, when
Bion, a deserter, came riding on full speed to the
king, and acquainted him, that Darius " had plant-
" ed iron caltrops all over that ground where he ex-
" pected the Macedonian horse, and by a certain
" sign, shew'd him the place, that his men might
" avoid it." Alexander having order'd the deserter
to be secur'd, call'd together his generals, and im-
parted the information to them, requiring them
" to decline that place, and to acquaint their men
" with the danger." However, it was impossible
for the whole army to hear this, the noise of both
armies taking away the use of the ears, so that
Alexander riding about, spoke to the captains, and
those that were next him, in the following manner.



C II A P. XIV.

“ **Y**OU that have march’d through so many
“ countries in hopes of the victory, for
“ which you are going to fight, have now but this
“ single danger left to encounter with. Then he
“ reminded them of the river Granicus, and the Ci-
“ lician mountains; that Syria and Egypt had been
“ conquer’d by them, with only passing through the
“ same, which were so many encouragements and
“ pledges of their future glory. That the Persians
“ were fugitives, rally’d together in their flight;
“ and would only fight now, because they could not
“ fly any farther. That this was the third day they
“ had lain under their arms, trembling and almost
“ dead with fear, without daring to make the least
“ motion. That there could not be a greater demon-
“ stration of their despair, than their burning their
“ towns and country; by that very procedure ac-
“ knowledging all to be the enemies that they could
“ not destroy. That the empty names of unknown
“ nations, ought not in the least to terrify them,
“ for it was of no moment to the war, who they
“ call’d Scythians or Caducians: it being plain from
“ their being unknown, that they are insignificant
“ people; since it is impossible brave men should lie
“ buried in obscurity and oblivion; whereas cow-
“ ards, when forc’d from their lurking retreats,
“ bring into the field nothing but a barbarous title.
“ As for the Macedonians, they have so signaliz’d
“ their

“ their virtue, that there is not the least corner of the
“ earth that is ignorant of their glory. Do but be-
“ hold the uncouth appearance of the Barbarians,
“ how forrily they are arm’d! some of them have
“ only a dart, others a sling to cast stones, while
“ very few of them have proper arms. Therefore,
“ notwithstanding the enemy be superior in number
“ of men, yet you have the advantage of soldiers.
“ Moreover, he did not require them to exert their
“ bravery, unless he encourag’d them by his exam-
“ ple. He assur’d them, he would fight in person
“ before the colours, and that he should esteem the
“ wounds he there receiv’d, as so many ornaments
“ to his body. That they knew very well them-
“ selves, that all partook of the booty, except him-
“ self. That he made no other use of the rewards
“ of his victories, than to adorn and honour them
“ with them. This was what he thought fit to say
“ to the gallant and-brave. But if there were any
“ amongst them of a different disposition, he must
“ acquaint them, that they were now advanc’d so
“ far, that it was impossible to fly: that having be-
“ hind them such vast countries, so many rivers and
“ mountains to oppose them, there was no passage
“ open to their own homes, but what they should
“ make themselves sword in hand.

Thus he animated the captains, thus he encourag-
ed the soldiers who were near him.

Darius was on the left wing of his army, having
with him a strong guard of chosen horse and foot,
and despis’d the small number of the enemy: judg-
ing, that by their extending their wings to the ut-
most, their main body must needs stand very thin.
Being therefore seated aloft in his chariot, he address-
ed himself both by looks and gesture, to the troops
that were about him on the right and left; telling
them.

them, “ that we who were a little while since, lords
“ of all the countries between the ocean and the
“ Hellespont, are now reduc’d to fight, not for glo-
“ ry, but for safety; nay, for what we even prefer
“ to our safety, our liberty. This day will either
“ establish, or put an end to the largest empire the
“ world has seen. At the river Granicus we en-
“ gag’d the enemy with an inconsiderable part of
“ our forces: when we were overcome in Cilicia,
“ we had Syria to repair to, and the Tigris and Eu-
“ phrates were as bulwarks to our dominions. Now
“ we are got where there is no room left for flight,
“ every thing behind our backs being exhausted by
“ the continuance of the war. The towns are dis-
“ peopled, and there are not hands to cultivate the
“ earth: our wives and children also follow the ar-
“ my, and will certainly fall a prey to the enemy,
“ if we are backward in exposing our lives for those
“ dear pledges. As for what depended on me, I
“ have taken care to have such an army as the larg-
“ est plains are hardly able to contain. I have fur-
“ nish’d it with horses and arms, and have taken
“ care to supply it with provisions, and have chosen
“ such a place to fight in, where all our forces may
“ be display’d. The rest depends on your selves,
“ do but dare to conquer and the work is done, re-
“ nown and fame are but weak arms against brave
“ men, therefore do not regard them in the enemy.
“ For it is his rashness you have hitherto fear’d, and
“ mistaken for courage; which when its first fury is
“ spent, becomes languid and dull, like those ani-
“ mals that have lost their flings. These spacious
“ fields discover the small number of the enemy,
“ which the Cilician mountains hid. You see how
“ thin their ranks are, how their wings are stretch’d
“ out, their center is in a manner vacant, as for the
“ rear,

“ rear, they seem by their facing outwards to be
“ ready to run away; they may be trod to death by
“ the horses, tho’ I were barely to send my army
“ chariots among them. If we gain this battle it
“ puts an end to the war, for they have no place to
“ escape to; they are inclos’d between the Tigris
“ and the Euphrates: what before was advantageous
“ to them, is now become a nuisance. Our army is
“ light and ready on all occasions, theirs is loaded
“ with booty. They are, as it were, entangled in
“ our spoils, so that we may kill them with ease.
“ The same things shall be both the cause of our vic-
“ tory and its reward. If any of you are startled at
“ the renown of the nation, think with yourselves,
“ that only the arms of Macedonians are there, and
“ not their persons; for a great deal of blood has
“ been spilt on both sides, and in a small number
“ the loss is soonest felt. As for Alexander, how
“ great soever he may appear to the cowardly and
“ fearful, he is still but one individual creature;
“ and, in my opinion, both rash and foolish. Now
“ nothing can be lasting that is not supported by
“ reason, and though he seems to be successful, yet
“ at long run he’ll pay for his temerity. Besides,
“ the turns and revolutions of things are of short dura-
“ tion, there is no such thing as an unmix’d felicity.
“ Perhaps it is the will of the gods, that the Persian
“ empire (which by a series of success for these two
“ hundred and thirty years, has rais’d itself to the
“ highest pitch of grandeur) should receive this vio-
“ lent shock without being overthrown, to put us in
“ mind of human frailty, of which we are too for-
“ getful in prosperity. A little while ago we our-
“ selves carry’d the war into Greece, and now we
“ are forc’d to drive it from our own country: thus
“ we are tost by the mutability of fortune, for one
“ nation

“ nation is not capable of the empire we both af-
“ fect; but admitting we were destitute of hope,
“ yet necessity ought to animate us, our case is so
“ deplorable. My mother, daughter, and son
“ Ochus (who was born with a right to succeed in
“ the empire) together with several princes descend-
“ ed from royal blood, and your generals, who
“ were like so many kings, all wear his chains;
“ nay, I my self am more than half a captive, un-
“ less you exert your selves: free my bowels from
“ their bondage, restore to me those dear pledges,
“ (for which I am willing my self to die) my mother
“ and children, for I have lost my wife in that pri-
“ son. Think with yourselves how they all reach
“ out their hands to you, implore the assistance of the
“ gods, beg your help, pity and fidelity, to deliver
“ them from servitude, fetters, and a precarious way
“ of living. Can you believe they are easy under
“ those they would hardly vouchsafe to command?
“ But I perceive the enemy approaches, and the
“ nearer the danger draws, the less am I satisfy’d
“ with what I have said. I conjure you then by the
“ tutelar gods of our country, by the eternal fire
“ that is carry’d before us on altars, by the splendor
“ of the sun that rises within the limits of my empire,
“ by the everlasting memory of Cyrus, who trans-
“ fer’d the empire from the Medes and Lydians to
“ the Persians, to free our name and nation from the
“ utmost disgrace. Fall on cheerfully, and full of
“ hopes, that you may transmit to posterity the glo-
“ ry you have receiv’d from your predecessors. You
“ carry in your right hands your liberty, relief, and
“ all our future hopes: whoever despises death is
“ least liable to it, the fearful only fall a prey to it.
“ I ride in a chariot, not only to comply with the
“ custom of my country, but also that I may be the
“ better

“ better seen by all ; and I am not against your imi-
 “ tating of me, according as I give you an example
 “ either of fortitude or cowardice.”



C H A P. XV.

IN the mean time Alexander, that he might avoid the place of ambuscade, discover'd by the deserter, fetch'd a compass : and that he might encounter with Darius, who led the left wing, caus'd his army to march in an oblique line. Darius also on his side advanc'd towards him, and commanded Bessus to charge Alexander's left wing with the Messagetan horse in the flank. He had before him the arm'd chariots, which upon the signal given, broke in furiously amongst the enemy, and were driven with a loose rein, that by the suddenness of the surprize they might do the greater execution ; some were destroy'd by the pikes that stuck out at the end of the poles, and others were cut to pieces by the scythes plac'd on each side.

The Macedonians did not give way gradually, but taking to their heels, confounded their ranks ; and Mazæus perceiving their disorder, that he might strike the greater fear into them, sent a thousand horse to plunder their baggage, thinking that the captives that were guarded with it, would, at the approach of their friends, break loose and make their escape. Parmenio, who was in the left wing, was not insensible of what was doing, he therefore immediately dispatch'd Polydamus to the king, to acquaint him with the danger, “ and to know his pleasure upon this occasion.” The king having heard Polydamus, made
 this

“ this answer, tell Parmenio, that if we get the day,
“ we shall not only recover our own, put also be
“ masters of all the enemy has ; and therefore let
“ him not weaken the army on that account, but
“ continue fighting manfully ; and after mine, and
“ my father Philip’s example, despise the loss of the
“ baggage.

In the mean time the Barbarians were pillaging the camp ; and having kill’d a great many of those that guarded it, the prisoners broke their chains, and arming themselves with what came next to their hands, they join’d the horse, and fell also upon the Macedonians, who were now in a doubtful condition : some of the prisoners ran for joy to Syfigambis, and told her Darius had got the victory ; that a mighty slaughter had been made of the enemies, who were at last strip’d of all their baggage and booty ; for they concluded the Persians had everywhere the same fortune, and were now as conquerors running about for plunder : and notwithstanding they would fain have prevail’d with Syfigambis to moderate her grief, yet she remain’d in the same state as before, without speaking one word, or changing her countenance, but sat as if she were immovable, (and seem’d to be afraid by too early a joy to provoke fortune) insomuch that the standers-by could not make any judgment of her inclination.

While these things were doing, Amyntas, one of Alexander’s colonels of horse, came to the assistance of those that guarded the baggage, whether of his own motion, or by the king’s orders, is uncertain ; but he was soon obliged to retire to Alexander, not being able to sustain the shock of the Cadusians and Scythians, having been rather a witness of the loss of the baggage, than a rescuer. Alexander upon this was so transported with grief, that he knew not
what

what to resolve upon ; he began to fear, and not without cause, lest the concern for the loss of the booty might draw the soldiers from the fight ; he therefore sent Arctes with the pikemen call'd Sarrisophori, against the Scythians. By this time the chariots having put the first ranks into confusion, were drove against the phalanx ; the Macedonians were so far from being dishearten'd at this, that they opened to the right and left, according to their former instructions, and made a lane for them to pass through ; and standing in close order, like a bulwark, stuck the horses with their pikes, as they went at random, and then surrounding the chariots, brought headlong down those that defended them. Here was so great a slaughter made of horses and their drivers, that it quite fill'd and choak'd up that space ; the drivers could now no longer guide the affrighted cattle ; and the horses, by their kicking and flinging, had not only broke their traces, but also overturn'd the chariots, and being wounded, dragged after them the men that were slain, neither being able to stand still for their fright, nor to advance, being faint with the loss of blood. However, a few of these chariots pierc'd clear through to the rear, and mangled the bodies of those they fell amongst, after a most deplorable manner ; the ground was strew'd with their dissected limbs ; and as they were heated, and their wounds fresh, they were not sensible of much pain, so that notwithstanding their maim'd and weak condition, they did not let their arms drop, till by excessive bleeding they fell down dead. In the meantime, Arctes having kill'd the captain of the Scythians that were pillaging the baggage, press'd hard upon them ; but the Bactrians coming seasonably to their assistance, turn'd the fortune of the fight again : a great many Macedonians were trampled under foot in
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the very first charge, the rest fled back to Alexander ; hereupon the Persians gave such a shout as victors are us'd to give, and rush'd furiously on the enemy, as if their defeat had been universal.

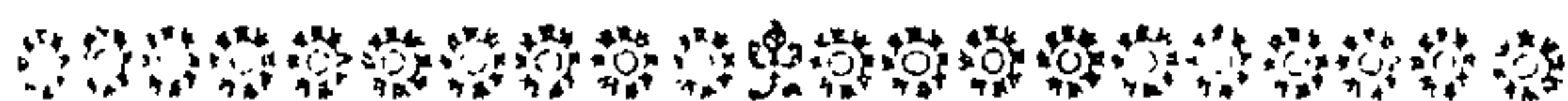
Alexander therefore check'd those that were flight-aid, and encourag'd them, and renew'd himself the fight, that began to grow languid. Thus having inspir'd them with fresh vigour, he commanded them to charge the enemy. The Persians right wing was very much weaken'd by the detachment of Bactrians, which were sent to seize the baggage ; Alexander therefore attack'd their loose ranks, and made a great slaughter of the enemy, which being perceiv'd by the Persians left wing, and thinking they had it in their power to surround Alexander, they fell upon his rear. Here the king had been in great danger, as being in the middle of his enemies, if the Agrian cavalry had not clapt spurs to their horses, and charg'd the Barbarians that surrounded him, and by that means forc'd them to face about to defend themselves.

The troops were hard put to it on both sides, for Alexander had the enemy both before and behind ; and those who attack'd his rear were themselves very much press'd by the Agrian forces : the Bactrians also, who were now return'd from pillaging the baggage, could not recover their post, and several battalions separated from the rest, fought with the next of the enemies that came in their way. The two kings, who were now near one another, encourag'd their respective troops ; a greater number of Persians were slain, the number of the wounded was almost equal. Darius was in a chariot, and Alexander on horseback ; they were both guarded by select soldiers that had not the least thought of themselves, for if their king fell, they neither would, nor could be safe, and they look'd upon it as a noble thing, to die in the presence
of

of their sovereign ; and those were expos'd to the greatest danger, who exerted themselves most for the preservation of the king, whom they guarded ; for every one coveted the honour of killing the prince of the adverse party. Now whether it was an illusion of the eyes, or a reality, they who were about Alexander thought they saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, who were terrified either by the noise of the arms, or the groans of the dying men, and appeared a long time about Alexander's horse, rather suspended in air than flying. It is certain, Aristander having put on his white garment, and carrying a laurel in his hand, flew'd this sight to the soldiers, who were attentive to the sight, " as an infallible token of the victory." They were then animated with fresh courage and assurance, who before were drooping, and their alacrity increas'd when Darius's charioteer was slain ; neither did the Persians or Macedonians doubt but the king was kill'd. Hereupon Darius's relations and attendants disturb'd the whole army (which till then, fought with almost equal advantage) with mournful howlings, and barbarous cries and lamentations. This caus'd those on the left to take to their heels, and desert the chariot, which those on the right receiv'd immediately into the middle of their division. It is said, Darius having drawn his sword, was unresolv'd, whether he ought not to avoid a shameful flight by an honourable death. But perceiving, as he sat aloft in his chariot, that some part of his army still maintain'd the fight, he was ashamed to leave them destitute of a head. While he remain'd thus between hope and despair, the Persians gave way by little and little, and broke their order. Alexander mounting a fresh horse (for he had already tir'd several) continu'd sticking those that resisted him in the face, and those that fled from him in the back :

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by this time it was no longer a fight, but a perfect massacre, and Darius himself turn'd his chariot to make the best of his way. The victors pursu'd the routed, but the clouds of dust that rose up to the very skies, intercepted their sight, so that they wander'd like men in the dark, rallying now and then at the sound of a known voice, as at a signal. It is true, the noise of the reins with which they struck the horses that drew Darius's chariots, were sometimes heard by them, which was all the footsteps they had to pursue him by.



C H A P. XVI.

BUT in the Macedonians left wing, which was commanded by Parmenio, as we said before, the success of both parties was very different: for Mazæus, with all his cavalry charg'd furiously the Macedonian horse, and press'd hard upon them, and as he was much superior in number, began to surround the foot: when Parmenio dispatch'd messengers to the king, “ to let him know the danger they were in
 “ on that side, and that unless they were speedily
 “ succour'd, they should of necessity be forc'd to
 “ fly.” Alexander had pursu'd the enemy a considerable way when this melancholy news was brought him; hereupon he stop'd both horse and foot, and in a rage cry'd out, “ That the victory
 “ was snatch'd out of his hands, and that Darius was
 “ more fortunate in his flight, than he in his pursuit.” In the mean time the account of the king's
 “ defeat

defeat had reach'd Mazæus, who thereupon notwithstanding he was much the stronger, did not press now so violently on the Macedonians: Parmenio was altogether ignorant why the fight slacken'd, however, he laid hold of the opportunity for an experienc'd general; and having call'd to him the Thracian horse, he said to them, "Do you not see how those who a little while ago bore so furiously down upon us, being suddenly terrify'd, grow slow in their attacks? for certain it is our good fortune that gives us also the victory. The field is cover'd with slaughter'd Persians; why are you idle? are you not a match for them, even now that you see them ready to fly?"

What he said seem'd so probable, that they recover'd fresh courage; and clapping spurs to their horses, charg'd the enemy vigorously, who now no longer gave way by little and little, but retreated so fast, that nothing was wanting to make it a perfect flight, but that they did not as yet turn their backs. However, as Parmenio was still ignorant how it far'd with the king, he kept his men back; by this means Mazæus had time given him to fly, he therefore repass'd the Tigre, not the nearest way, but fetching a great compass, and for that reason with the greater safety, and came to Babylon with the broken remains of the routed army. Darius made towards the river Lycus, with a few that accompany'd him in his flight, and having pass'd the same, was wavering whether he ought not to cause the bridge to be broke, for he was inform'd the enemy would soon be there. But then again, he consider'd the many thousands of his men that were not yet come to the river, and would, if the bridge were broke, certainly fall a prey to the enemy: he therefore left it standing, and declar'd as he went away, "Let

“ he had much rather leave a passage to them that
“ pursu’d him, than deprive those of it that fled
“ after him.” And having travell’d over a vast tract
of ground, he reach’d Arbela about midnight. Who
can imagine or comprehend, even in thought, the
various sporting turns of fortune here, the havock
that was made of both officers and soldiers; the flight
of the vanquish’d, the private slaughters and univer-
sal massacres? Fortune seems in this single day to
have heap’d together the occurrences of a whole age.
Some took the shortest way, while others fled through
the woods, and sav’d themselves by private ways un-
known to the pursuers: there was a confus’d mixture
of horse and foot without leaders, of the arm’d with
the unarm’d, and of the sound with the infirm and
wounded.

But at last fear getting the better of compassion,
those that could not keep pace with the rest in the
flight, were left behind bewailing their mutual cala-
mities; the fatigu’d and wounded were parch’d up
with thirst, to relieve which, they flung themselves
prostrate on the banks of every stream, and swal-
low’d the water with insatiable greediness, which being
muddy, presently swell’d their intrails; and their limbs
being relax’d and numb’d therewith, the enemy
overtook them, and rous’d them up with fresh
wounds. Some finding the neighbouring brooks tak-
en up by others, straggled farther, that they might
drain every place of what water they could find:
there was not so out-of-the-way, or dry a puddle,
that could escape the drought of the thirsty searchers.
The villages near the road resounded with the cries
and lamentations of the old people of both sexes,
who, after their barbarous manner, still call’d upon
Darius as their king.

Alexander

Alexander having check'd his pursuit, (as we said before) was come to the river Lycus, where he found the bridge loaded with a multitude of the flying enemy; a great many whereof, finding they were closely pursu'd, cast themselves into the river, and being encumber'd with their arms, and tir'd with the action and their flight, were swallow'd up by its rapid stream. In a little time, not only the bridge could not contain the fugitives, but even the river it self was crowded with them, by their indiscreet casting themselves upon one another; "for when once fear hath seized
" mens minds, they value nothing, but what caus'd
" that fear."

Alexander being entreated by his followers, not to suffer the enemy to escape with impunity, asked for excuse of this permission, "that their weapons
" were blunted, their arms tir'd, and their blood
" spent with so long a chase; besides all which,
" night was coming on. But in reality, he was in pain for his left wing, (which he thought was still engag'd) and so was resolv'd to return to its assistance. He had hardly fac'd about, when messengers came to him from Parmenio with the agreeable news, that his part of the army was also victorious. He was never in greater danger during the whole day, than upon his return to the camp: there was but a small number with him, and they were not in order, but careless, transported with the victory; for they concluded all the enemy's army was either fled, or slain; however, contrary to their expectation, all on the sudden there appear'd a body of Persian horse, which at first halted; but having discover'd the inconsiderable number of the Macedonians, they charg'd them vigorously. The king rid at the head of his men, rather dissembling, than despising the danger: but here again, he was attended by his usual prosperity, for

the Persian commander coming against him with more fury than discretion, the king ran him through with his spear, and afterwards dealt the like usage to several others who came in his way. His friends likewise fell upon the enemy, who was now in disorder. On the other side, the Persians did not die unreveng'd ; for the whole armies did not engage more eagerly than these tumultuary troops : at last, it being darkish, the Barbarians thought it more advisable to fly, than to continue the fight, and therefore made their escape in different troops.

The king having clear'd himself of this extraordinary danger, brought his men safe to the camp. There fell of the Persians this day, according to what account the victors could take, forty thousand, and of the Macedonians, less than three hundred. This victory was owing more to the king's bravery, than fortune : here it was his courage, and not the advantage or ground, that conquer'd. He had drawn up his army most skillfully, and fought himself most gallantly. He shew'd the highest wisdom in despising the loss of the baggage and booty, since all depended on the issue of the battle ; and notwithstanding the event was yet undetermin'd, he even then behav'd himself like a conqueror. Then having struck a terror into the enemy, he afterwards routed them ; and which is to be wonder'd at in so violent a temper, he pursu'd them with more prudence than eagerness : for had he continu'd his pursuit, while one part of his army was still engag'd, he had either run the risk of being overcome through his own fault, or had been indebted to another for the victory ; or had he been dishearten'd at the sudden appearance of the body of horse that fell upon him as he return'd to his camp, he must either, though a conqueror, have shamefully fled, or perish'd miserably.

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Neither ought his officers to be defrauded of their due praise, for the wounds they receiv'd were so many tokens of their bravery. Hephæstion was run through the arm with a spear; Perdiccas, Cato, and Menidas were almost kill'd with arrows; and if we will make a true judgment of the Macedonians of that time, we must own, "that the king was
"worthy of such subjects, and they of so great a
"king."





QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

WERE I now to relate what was transacted in the same space of time, either in Greece, Illyricum, or Thrace, by Antipater's conduct or appointment, according to the order of the occurrences, I should be forc'd to interrupt the series of the affairs of Asia, which I think more proper to represent entirely, with the same connexion and order in my work, as they hold in respect to the time of their performance, down to the flight and death of Darius. I shall therefore begin with those things that happen'd after the fight of Arbela, where Darius arriv'd about midnight, as did also great part of his friends and soldiers, whom fortune had guided thither in their flight. Darius having therefore call'd them together, told them, "That he did not doubt but Alexander would repair

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“ to those cities and countries that were most cele-
“ brated for riches and plenty of all things. That
“ he and his soldiers had now no other thoughts but
“ of enriching themselves with the noble spoils that
“ lay expos’d to them. That this would be of great
“ use to himself in his present circumstances, since he
“ should thereby have time, with an unincumber’d
“ body of men, to retire to the desarts : and as the
“ remote parts of his dominions were still untouched,
“ he might easily there raise fresh forces to prosecute
“ the war withal. Let them there rifle my treasures
“ which they have so long thirsted after ; these will
“ but make them the easier prey to me for the fu-
“ ture ; for I have found by experience, that rich
“ furniture, and a great train of concubines and
“ eunuchs, are only so many impediments and
“ clogs, which when Alexander shall drag after him,
“ he’ll be inferior to those he has overcome.

This speech appear’d to all that heard it, full of
despair, for they plainly saw thereby, that he yielded
up the wealthy city of Babylon, and that the con-
queror would also take possession of Susa, and the
other ornaments of the kingdom, which were the
cause of the war. But he continu’d to represent to
them, “ That in adversity fine speeches were of no
“ use, but only those that were suitable to the pre-
“ sent exigency of affairs. That the war was to be
“ made with iron, and not with gold : with men,
“ not with city houses : and that all things follow’d
“ those that were arm’d. That his predecessors had
“ after this manner recovered their primitive gran-
“ deur, though they had been unfortunate at first.
Therefore whether he by this speech gave them fresh
courage, or that they respect’d his sovereignty more
than they approv’d his counsel, he enter’d the borders
of Media : a little while after Arbela, a city full
of

of the royal furniture and treasure, was surrender'd to Alexander. Here were found four thousand talents ; besides costly apparel. For the wealth of the whole army was lodg'd here.

The king soon decamp'd from hence, being forc'd thereto by the sickness that began to infect his army, occasion'd by the stench of the dead bodies that almost cover'd all the fields.

In his march he had on his left the plain country of Arabia, so much celebrated for its odoriferous products. The lands that lye between the Tigris and the Euphrates are said to be so fruitful and rich, that the inhabitants are forc'd to check the cattle in their pasturage, for fear they should kill themselves by surfeits. The cause of this fertility proceeds from these two rivers, which communicate their waters throughout the whole territory by the hidden veins in the earth. Both these rivers have their source in the mountains of Armenia, and afterwards dividing themselves, continue their different courses. Their greatest distance about the mountains of Armenia is, by those who have measur'd it, reported to be two thousand five hundred furlongs. These rivers, when they begin to cut their way through the lands of Media and Gordia, by degrees draw nearer to one another ; and the farther they run, the narrower is the interval between them. They are nearest each other in those plains which are by the inhabitants call'd Mesopotamia, which lies between them ; from whence they continue their course through the Babylonian borders, and at last empty themselves into the Red Sea.

Alexander in four days came to the city call'd Memmis : here there is a cave which has in it a fountain that emits a vast quantity of bituminous matter, so that it is probable enough, the walls of Babylon,
M 2 which

which are a prodigious work, were cemented with that matter.

As Alexander was continuing his march toward Babylon, Mazæus (who had fled thither from the battle) came with his children that were at age of maturity, and surrender'd himself and the town to the king. His submission was very acceptable to the king, by reason the siege of so strong a place must of necessity have been tedious. Beside this, his quality and bravery were very considerable, and he had but lately distinguish'd himself in the last great action, and whose example might be a great inducement to others to imitate him. The king therefore receiv'd him and his children very graciously; however, he form'd his army which he led in person into a square, and commanded them to enter the town in that order, as if they had been going to an engagement. The walls were fill'd with Babylonians who flock'd thither, eager to behold their new sovereign: but the greatest part went out to meet him. Among these were Bagophanes governor of the castle, and keeper of the king's treasure, who was unwilling to be outdone in zeal by Mazæus. The road he had strew'd all over with flowers and garlands, and adorn'd on each side with silver altars, which were fill'd, not only with frankincense, but all manner of perfumes. He was follow'd by the presents he design'd the king, viz. droves of cattle and horses, with lions and leopards in strong cages for that purpose. These were follow'd by the Magi singing hymns after the manner of the country. After these came the Chaldeans, and not only the Babylonian prophets, but also the mathematicians with their respective instruments: these are us'd to sing the prince's praise; and the Chaldeans are addicted to the consideration of the motions of the planets, and declare the vicissitudes of the seasons.

These were clos'd by the Babylonian cavalry, whose rich cloathing and furniture, for themselves and their horses, denoted luxury rather than magnificence. The king commanded the multitude of town's people to follow in the rear of his foot, and being encompass'd by his guards, enter'd the city in a chariot, and then repair'd to the palace. The next day he took a view of Darius's furniture, and all his treasure. The beauty and antiquity of the place attracted not only Alexander's eyes, but likewise those of all that beheld it. Semiramis founded it, or, as a great many affirm, Belus, whose palace is still to be seen. The walls are made of brick, and cemented with bitumen, and are thirty two foot in breadth; so that two chariots that meet, might safely pass by each other; they were one hundred cubits in height, and the towers that were at certain distances, were ten foot higher than the walls. The compass of the whole work took up three hundred sixty eight furlongs. It is said that each furlong was finish'd in a single day. The buildings are not contiguous to the walls, but at the distance of an acre from them: nay, the city is not wholly taken up with houses, but only ninety furlongs thereof, nor do all the houses join to one another; as I suppose, because it was judg'd safer to have them scatter'd up and down in several places. The rest is sow'd and plough'd, that in case of a siege, the inhabitants may be supply'd with corn within themselves. The Euphrates runs through the city, and is kept on both sides by very strong banks, which are themselves a prodigious work: but these have behind them large and deep caves, to receive the rapid streams, which otherwise, when they rise above the banks, would be apt to bear down the houses, if it were not for these subterraneous receptacles. These caves are also lin'd with brick, and cemented with bitumen.

bitumen. The two parts of the town have a communication with each other by a stone-bridge, built over the river, which too is rank'd amongst the wonders of the east. For the Euphrates carries with it a very deep mud, which makes it very difficult to clear its channel so perfectly as to find a firm foundation. Moreover, the great heaps of sand that gather about the pillars that support the bridge stop the course of the water, which being by that confinement check'd, beats more furiously against it than it would do if it had a free passage. The castle is twenty furlongs in circumference; the towers are thirty foot deep within the ground, and eighty foot in height above it. On the top of the castle are the pensile gardens, so much celebrated by the Greek poets: they are of equal height with the wall of the town, and are mighty pleasant both on account of their shady groves, and the tallness of the trees that grow there. This bulky work is supported by pillars, over which there runs a pavement of square stone, able to bear the earth which is laid upon it to a great depth, and the water with which it is nourish'd. This pile carries trees of so large a dimension, that their bodies are eight cubits about, and fifty foot in height, and altogether as fruitful as if they grew in their natural soil. Now notwithstanding time preys by little and little, not only on artificial works, but upon nature herself; yet this huge pile which is pressed with the roots of so many trees, and loaded with the weight of so large a grove, remains still entire. It is supported by twenty large walls, distant eleven foot from one another, so that they who behold these groves at a distance would take them to be so many woods growing upon their mountains. It is reported that a king of Syria reigning in Babylon, contriv'd this mighty work to gratify his queen, who being

wonderfully delighted with woods and forests in the open fields, persuaded her husband to imitate the beauties of nature in this work.

The king resided longer here than he had done any where: nor could there be any place more destructive of military discipline. Nothing can be more corrupt than the manners of this city, nor better provided with all the requisites to stir up and promote all sorts of debauchery and lewdness: for parents and husbands suffer their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests, if they are but paid for the crime. The kings and noblemen of Persia take great delight in licentious entertainments: and the Babylonians are very much addicted to wine, and the consequences of drunkenness. The women in the beginning of their feasts are modestly clad; then after some time, they lay aside their upper garment, and violate their modesty by degrees; at last (without offence be it spoken) they fling away even their lower apparel: nor is this the infamous practice of the courtezans only, but likewise of the matrons and their daughters, who look upon this vile prostitution of their bodies as an act of complaisance. It is reasonable to think, that that victorious army, which had conquer'd Asia, having wallow'd thirty four days in all kind of lewdness and debauchery, would have found itself much weaken'd, for any following engagements, if an enemy had presented itself: but that the damage might be less sensible, it was from time to time as it were renew'd with fresh recruits: for Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, brought from Antipater six thousand Macedonian foot, and five hundred horse of the same nation; and with these six hundred Thracian horse, and three thousand five hundred foot of that country. There came also from Peloponnesus four thousand mercenary foot, and three

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hundred

hundred and eighty horse. The said Amyntas likewise brought him fifty young gentlemen of the nobility of Macedonia, to serve as guards of his person. Their office is to serve the king at table, and attend him with horses when he goes upon action; to accompany him a hunting, and do duty by turns at his chamber-door: it is here they learn the first rudiments of war, and lay, as it were, the foundation of their future preferment to be generals in the army, or governors of provinces.

The king having appointed Agathon governor of the castle of Babylon, assigning him seven hundred Macedonians and three hundred mercenaries for that purpose; left the government of the territory and city to Menes and Apollodorus, allotting them a garrison of two thousand foot, and one thousand talents, commanding both to make new levies to recruit the army. He gave to Mazæus who came over to him, the superintendency of Babylon; and order'd Bagophanes, who had surrender'd the castle to him, to follow him. He gave the government of Armenia to Mithrenes, who had yielded up Sardis. Out of the money found in Babylon, he order'd every Macedonian trooper six hundred Denarii, and five hundred to every foreign trooper, and to every foot soldier two hundred.



C H A P. II.

Alexander having settled things after this manner, march'd into the country, call'd Satrapene: the soil whereof being fruitful, and affording plenty of
of

of all kinds of provisions, he stay'd here the longer : and that idleness might not impair the courage of his soldiers, he appointed judges, and propos'd prizes to those that should distinguish themselves in military exercises. Those eight that should be judg'd the bravest, were each to be made colonels of a thousand men, and were called Chiliarchæ. This was the first institution of regiments of this number ; for they before consisted but of five hundred, and did not use to be the reward of bravery. A great number of soldiers flock'd hither to behold the noble spectacle, and at the same time were so many judges of the behaviour of each contender, and also of the justice of the sentence of the judges themselves ; since it was impossible to conceal whether the honour was bestow'd on the account of merit, or out of favour. The first prize was adjudg'd to Adarchias the elder, who had been chiefly instrumental in renewing the fight at Halicarnassus, where the young soldiers gave ground : the next was given to Antigènes : Philotas Angæus had the third ; and Amyntas obtain'd the fourth : after these Antigonus was thought worthy, and next to him Lyncestes Amyntas : the seventh place was awarded to Theodotus, and the last to Helanicus.

He also made several useful alterations in military discipline, from what had been practis'd by his predecessors : for whereas before, the horse were divided into corps, according to their respective nations, he took away this distinction, and appointed them colonels of his own chusing, without having any regard to their nations.

It was usual upon a decampment, to give the signal by sound of trumpet, but as very often that was not sufficiently heard, being drown'd by the noise of the soldiers in their hurry : he therefore order'd that

a long pole for the future should be set over his tent, from whence the signal might be observ'd by all, which was fire in the night, and smoak in the day.

As the king was on his march to Susa, Abulites, who was governor of that province, sent his son to meet him on the road, and assure him he was ready to surrender the town. It is uncertain, whether he did this of his own accord, or by Darius's order, thereby to amuse Alexander with the booty : however, the king receiv'd the youth very graciously, and was conducted by him to the river Choaspes, whose waters are reported to be very sweet and soft. Here Abulites met the king with presents of regal magnificence : amongst other things there were dromedaries of an extraordinary swiftness ; twelve elephants brought from India by Darius's order ; but were not now a terror to the Macedonians, as they were intended, but a help : fortune having transferr'd the riches of the vanquish'd to the victor. Having enter'd the town, he took out of the treasury a prodigious sum, viz. fifty thousand talents of silver, not coin'd, but in the wedge and bar. Several kings had been a long time heaping up these vast treasures, as they thought, for their children, and posterity, but one single hour put them all into the hands of a foreign prince.

He then seated himself in the regal throne, which, being much too high for his stature, his feet could not reach the ground ; one of his pages therefore brought a table and set it under his feet. Hereupon one of Darius's eunuchs sigh'd, which the king observing, enquir'd into the cause of his grief. Then the eunuch told him, “ That Darius was us'd to
“ eat upon that table ; and that he could not behold,
“ without shedding tears, the table, which was con-
“ secrated to his master's use, apply'd in a manner so
“ insulting

“insulting and contemptuous.” At these words, the king began to be ashamed to violate the gods of hospitality, and commanded “it to be taken away : but Philotas intreated him by no means to do so, but on the contrary to take it as a good omen, that that table, off of which his enemy us’d to eat, was now become his footstool.”

Alexander designing now to pass into Persia, gave the government of Susa to Archelaus, leaving him a garrison of three thousand men ; Xenophilus had the charge of the castle, having with him for garrison the superannuated Macedonians. The care of the treasury was committed to Callicrates, and the lieutenancy of the county of Susa was restor’d to Abulites. Darius’s mother and children were likewise left here.

The king receiv’d about this time several garments, and a great quantity of purple from Macedonia, which was sent him as a present, with the workers of them ; he order’d them immediately, to be carry’d to Syfigambis : for he shew’d her all manner of respect, and even paid her the duty of a son. He charg’d the messengers at the same time to tell her, “That if the cloaths pleas’d her, she should let her grand-children learn to work them, and make presents of them.” At these words she fell a weeping, and thereby sufficiently declar’d how unacceptable the present was to her ; for there is nothing the Persian ladies have more in contempt, than even to let their hands touch wool. They who carry’d the presents acquainted him, “That Syfigambis seem’d afflicted :” The king hereupon thought himself oblig’d to go and comfort her, and excuse himself for his oversight ; which he accordingly did, and told her, “Mother, the cloaths I now have on, were not only a present from my sisters, but also their work.

“ Our different customs led me into my error : I de-
 “ fire therefore you would not misinterpret my ig-
 “ norance as an affront. I hope, I have hitherto
 “ carefully enough observ’d those of your customs
 “ that come to my knowledge. When I understood
 “ it was not the practice of Persia, for sons to sit in
 “ their mother’s presence without their leave first ob-
 “ tain’d, every time I came to visit you, I kept
 “ standing, till you signify’d to me I might sit : and
 “ whenever you offer’d to fall down in honour of
 “ me, I never would suffer it. In fine, as a token
 “ of the perfect veneration I have for you, I give
 “ you always that title which is due only to my dear
 “ mother Olympias.”



C H A P. III.

THE king having reliev’d her uneasiness after
 this manner, came in four encampments to a
 river, call’d by the inhabitants Pasitigris. It has its
 rise in the mountains of the Uxians, and continues
 its course in a furious manner among the rocks for
 the space of fifty furlongs between its grovy banks ;
 after which it runs through the plains in a smoother
 channel, and is navigable ; and having pass’d through
 a fruitful soil, for the space of six hundred furlongs
 with a gentle stream, it empties itself into the Per-
 sian sea.

Alexander having pass’d this river with nine
 thousand foot, the Agrians, mercenary Greeks, and
 three thousand Thracians, came into the country of
 the Uxians ; it borders upon the territory of Susa,
 and extends itself as far as the frontiers of Persia,
 leaving



OLYMPIAS.

leaving but a narrow passage between it and the Susians. Madates had the government of this country, who was no time-server, but was resolv'd to run all hazards for the sake of his allegiance. However, those that were acquainted with the roads, inform'd Alexander, "That there was a bye-way through
" the mountains, that led to the back side of the
" city, and therefore if he sent a few light-arm'd
" men that way, they might make themselves masters
" of a higher ground, than that of the enemy's."

The king liking the advice, pitch'd upon those that gave it to serve as guides to his men, and order'd Tauron, with fifteen hundred mercenaries, and about a thousand Agrians to execute it, and to set out after the sun was down. As for himself, he decamp'd at the third watch, and about break of day had pass'd the straits; and having cut down timber to make hurdles, and other necessary engines, to cover those that should advance the towers, began the siege of the place; here was nothing to be seen but craggy rocks and precipices, the soldiers were therefore repuls'd, as not having the enemy only to encounter with, but also the difficulties of the place, notwithstanding which they advanc'd; for the king was among the first, and would sometimes ask them, if having reduc'd so many strong towns, "they were
" not asham'd to be baffled in the siege of a small insignificant castle? The king was now attack'd at a distance; and not being to be prevail'd upon to withdraw, the soldiers form'd a tortoise with their bucklers, to protect him from the arrows, darts, and stones that were level'd at him from the walls. At length Tauron appear'd with his detachment above the castle, at whose sight the enemy's courage began to flag, and the Macedonians fought with more vigour. The townsmen were now attack'd both before and behind, and nothing could stop the fury of the
enemy;

enemy; some few were for dying resolutely, but more were inclin'd to fly, and a great number retir'd into the castle. From hence they deputed thirty ambassadors to implore his mercy, but they receiv'd for answer, "That there was no room for pardon." Being therefore seiz'd with the dread of future torments, they dispatch'd deputies to Syfigambis, Darius's mother, by a private way unknown to the enemy, to intreat her to use her interest with the king in their behalf, for they were not ignorant that he lov'd and honour'd her as a parent. They were the more encourag'd to this, because Madates had marry'd her sister's daughter, and was nearly related to Darius. Syfigambis refus'd to comply with their request for a long time, telling them, "That it did not suit
 " with her present circumstances to turn intercessor
 " for others, and that she had reason to fear tiring the
 " clemency of the conqueror; besides that, she oft-
 " ner reflected on her being at present a captive,
 " than of her having been a queen." However, at last being overcome by their importunity, she writ a letter to Alexander, wherein " she begg'd his pardon
 " for the liberty she took to intercede for the besieg-
 " ed, for whom she implor'd his mercy; and hop'd
 " he would at least forgive her, for soliciting his in-
 " dulgence in the behalf of a friend and relation,
 " who was now no longer an enemy, but an humble
 " suppliant for his life."

Here now is a remarkable instance of the king's moderation and goodness at this time, for he not only, at her request, pardon'd Madates, but granted to all their liberty, as well to those that were captives, as those who surrender'd themselves, confirming their immunities: he likewise, left the place untouched, and permitted them to cultivate their lands tax free: she could not have obtain'd more of Darius, though her son, had he been conqueror. He afterwards united

united the Uxian nation to the government of Susa; then having divided his army with Parmenio, he commanded him to march through the flat country, while he with the light-arm'd forces, took his way along the mountains, which run in a perpetual ridge into Persia.

Having ravag'd all this country, he arriv'd the third day on the borders of Persia, and on the fifth he enter'd the straits which they call Pylæ Susidææ. Ariobarzanes, with twenty five thousand foot, had taken possession of these rocks, which were on all sides steep and craggy, on the tops whereof the Barbarians kept themselves, being there out of the cast of the darts. Here they remain'd quiet on purpose, and seem'd to be afraid till the army was advanc'd within the narrowest part of the straits; but when they perceiv'd them to continue their march, as it were in contempt of them, they rowl'd down stones of a prodigious bigness upon them, which rebounding often from the lower rocks, fell with the greater force, and not only crush'd single persons, but even whole companies. They likewise ply'd their slings and bows from all parts; even this did not seem a hardship to these brave men, but only that they were forc'd to perish unreveng'd, like beasts taken in a pit-fall: upon this, their anger turning into rage, they caught hold of the rocks, and helping one another up, did all they could to get to the enemy; but the parts they laid hold on giving way to the strength of so many hands, fell upon those that loosen'd them. In these sad circumstances they could neither stand still nor go forward, nor protect themselves with their bucklers, by reason of the great size of the stones the Barbarians push'd upon them. The king was not only griev'd, but asham'd he had so rashly brought his army into these straits. Till this day he had been invincible, having never attempted any thing in vain. He had enter'd the straits of Cilicia without damage, and had
open'd

open'd himself a new way by sea into Pamphilia ; but here that happiness which had always attended him, seem'd to be at a stand, and there was no other remedy but to return the same way he came. Having therefore given the signal for a retreat, he commanded the soldiers to march in close order, and to join their bucklers over their heads, and so retire out of these straits, after they had advanc'd thirty furlongs within them.



C H A P. IV.

THE king, at his return from the straits, having pitch'd his camp in a plain open ground, not only held a council on the present juncture of affairs, but also was so superstitious, as to consult the prophets concerning what was most advisable to be done. but what, in such a case, could Aristander (who was then in greatest esteem) pretend to foretel ? Laying aside therefore the unseasonable sacrifices, he gave orders to bring to him such men as were well acquainted with the country ; these men told him of a way through Media, which was safe and open, but the king was aham'd to leave his soldiers unbury'd, for there was no custom more religiously observed amongst the Macedonians, than that of burying their dead : he therefore commanded the prisoners he had lately taken to be brought before him ; among these, there was one who was skill'd in both the Greek and and Persian languages ; this man told him, “ it was
 “ in vain for him to think of leading his army into
 “ Persia, over the tops of the mountains ; that the
 “ narrow ways lay all among woods, and were hard-
 “ ly passable to single persons,” all the country being
 level.

cover'd with woods, which were in a manner united by the intermixture of their branches. For Persia on one side is hemm'd in by a continual ridge of mountains that extend themselves sixteen hundred furlongs in length, and one hundred and seventy in breadth, beginning at mount Caucasus, and reaching as far as the Red Sea, which serves for another fence where the mountains fall. At the foot of the hills is a spacious plain very fertil, and thick set with towns and villages. The river Araxes runs thro' these plains into the Medus, carrying along with it the rivers of several torrents: the Medus, which is a less river than it receives, empties itself into the sea to the southward. No river can contribute more to the production of grafs than this, for whatever land it waters, it clothes it with flowers and nerbage. Its banks are also covered on both sides with plane trees and poplars, so that to those who behold it at a distance, the woods upon the banks seem to be contiguous to those upon the mountains, because the shaded river glides along in a low channel; and the little hills that border upon it are well cloath'd with wood, this fruitful water penetrating through the earth to the roots of the trees.

There is not any country in all Asia more healthful than this, the air is temperate, and on one side the long ridge of mountains, with their shady groves, alleviate the excessive heat of the sun, and on the other the adjoining sea cherishes the ground with its moderate warmth.

The prisoner having given this account, the king ask'd him, "Whether he had what he said by the relation of others, or by his own inspection?" He made answer, "That he had been a shepherd, and knew all those bye-ways perfectly well: and that he had been twice taken prisoner; once by
" the

“ the Persians in Lycia, and now by himself.” The
answer put the king in mind of the oracle that had
told him, “ a Lycian should be his guide into Per-
“ sia ;” having therefore made him large promises,
suitable to the present necessity, and the prisoner’s con-
dition, he order’d him “ to be arm’d after the Ma-
“ cedonian manner, and in the name of fortune to
“ lead the way, which (notwithstanding its seeming
“ impracticableness) he did not doubt to pass thro’
“ with a small number, unless he imagin’d that Alexan-
“ der could not do that for the sake of glory and im-
“ mour, that he had done on the account of his
“ flock.” Hereupon the prisoner persisted to urge
“ the difficulty of the undertaking, especially for
“ men in arms.” To which the king reply’d,
“ Take my word for it, none of them that are to
“ follow will refuse to go wherever you lead them.”
Then having committed the guard of the camp to
Craterus, with the foot which he commanded, and
the forces under Meleager, and a thousand horse ar-
chers, he order’d him “ to observe the same form of
“ encampment, and to keep a great many fires, that
“ the Barbarians might by that think the king was
“ there in person ; but if he found Ariobarzanes got
“ intelligence of his march thro’ the winding nar-
“ row ways, and thereupon made detachments to
“ oppose his passage ; that then Craterus should use
“ his utmost efforts to terrify him, and oblige him to
“ keep his troops together to oppose the present dan-
“ ger ; but if he (the king) deceiv’d the enemy,
“ and gain’d the wood, that then, upon the alarm
“ among the enemies endeavouring to pursue the
“ king, he should boldly enter the straits they had
“ been repuls’d in the day before, since he might be
“ sure they were undefended, and the enemy turn’d
“ upon himself.”

At the third watch, he broke up in great silence, without so much as the signal from the trumpet, and follow'd his guide towards the narrow way. Every light-arm'd soldier had orders "to carry with him three days provision." But besides the steepness of the rocks, and the slipperiness of the stone that often deceived their feet, the driven snow very much incommoded them; for it sometimes swallow'd them up as if they had fallen into pits; and when their fellow-soldiers endeavoured to help them out, they themselves were pull'd down into the same pits. Moreover, the night, and unknown country, besides the uncertainty whether the guide was faithful or not, very much increas'd their fear: "For if he deceiv'd the guards, and made his escape, they were liable to be taken like wild beasts: so that the king's and their safety, depended on the fidelity and life of one prisoner." At length they gain'd the top of the mountain. The way to Ariobarzanes lay on the right hand: here he detach'd Philotas and Cænus, as also Amyntas and Polypercon, with a body of the lightest-arm'd, with instructions, "That by reason there was horse intermix'd with the foot, they should march leisurely through that part of the country where the soil was fruitful, and afforded plenty of forage." He also appointed some of the prisoners for their guides. As for himself, taking with him his guards, and those troops call'd the Agema, he march'd with a great deal of difficulty through a by-path, remote from the enemies out-guard. It was now the middle of the day, and his men being tir'd, it was necessary to give them some rest; for they had still as far to go, as they were already come, tho' it was not so steep and craggy.

Having therefore refresh'd his men both with food and sleep, at the second watch he continu'd his march, without

without any great difficulty. However, by reason of the declivity of the mountains towards the plain, there was a great gulf (occasion'd by the meeting of several torrents that had wore away the earth) which stopt their further progress. Besides, the branches of the trees were so entangled one within the other, and joined so close, that it oppos'd their passage like a thick hedge. This cast them into the utmost despair, and they had much ado to retain their tears: the darkness of the night also encreas'd their terror, for if any stars appear'd, they were intercepted by the close contexture of the boughs. The very use of their cars was also taken away; for the wind was high, and by blowing against the interfering branches of the trees, its noise was greatly increased. At last, the long-expected light lessen'd the terrors which the night had enhanc'd; for by fetching a small compass, they declin'd the gulf: and now every one began to be a guide to himself. Having therefore gain'd the top of a hill, from whence they could discover the enemy's out-guards, they resolutely shew'd themselves at the back of the enemy, who mistrusted no such thing. Those few who dar'd engage, were kill'd; and the groans of those that were dying, together with the dismal appearance of those that fled to their main body, struck such a terror amongst them, that they took to their heels without so much as trying their fortune.

The noise having reach'd Craterus's camp, he presently advanc'd to take possession of those straits where they had been baffled the day before. At the same time, Philotas with Polypercon, Amyntas, and Cænus, who had been order'd to march another way, was a fresh surprize to the Barbarians, who were now surrounded on all sides by the Macedonians; notwithstanding which, they behaved themselves gallantly; which makes me believe, that ne-
cessity

cessity emboldens the most cowardly, and that oftentimes despair is the cause of hope : for naked as they were, they clos'd in with those that were arm'd, and by the bulk of their bodies, brought them down to the ground, and then stuck several of them with their own weapons. However, Ariobarzanes with forty horse, and about five thousand foot, broke thro' the Macedonian army (a great many falling on both sides) and endeavoured to possess himself of Persepolis the chief city of the country. But being deny'd entrance by the garrison, and the enemy pursuing him closely, he renew'd the fight, and was slain with all his men. By this time Craterus marching with the utmost expedition, also join'd the king.



C H A P. V.

THE king fortify'd his camp in the same place where he had defeated the enemy : for notwithstanding he had gain'd a compleat victory, yet the large and deep ditches in many places retarded his march, and so he thought it more adviseable to proceed leisurely ; not suspecting so much any attempt from the Barbarians, as the treachery of the ground.

In his march he receiv'd letters from Tiridates (keeper of the royal treasure) wherein he notify'd to him, “ That upon advice of his approach, the
 “ inhabitants would have rifled the treasury ; where-
 “ fore he desir'd him to hasten his march, and come
 “ and take possession of it ; that the way was safe,
 “ although the river Araxes run a-cross.” I cannot applaud any military virtue of Alexander's
 16

so much as his expedition in all actions. Leaving therefore his foot behind, he march'd all night with his cavalry, notwithstanding their late fatigues, and arriv'd by break of day at the Araxes. There were several villages in the neighbourhood, which having pillag'd and demolish'd, he made a bridge of the materials. The king was not far from the town, when so sad a spectacle presented it self to his eyes, as can hardly be parallel'd in history. It consisted of four thousand Greek captives, whom the Persians had mangled after a miserable manner. For some had their feet cut off, others their hands and ears, and all their bodies were burnt with barbarous characters, and thus reserv'd for the cruel diversion of their inhuman enemies; who now finding themselves under foreign subjection, did not oppose their desire to go out and meet Alexander. They resembled some strange figures more than men, being only distinguishable as such by their voice. They drew more tears from their spectators, than they shed themselves; for in so great a variety of calamities, notwithstanding they were all sufferers, yet their punishment was so diversify'd, that it was a difficult matter to determine which of them was most miserable. But when they cry'd out, that at last Jupiter the revenger of Greece had open'd his eyes, all the beholders were so mov'd with compassion, that they thought their sufferings their own. Alexander having dry'd his eyes (for he could not forbear weeping at so sad an object) bid them "have a good heart," and assur'd them, "they should see their native country, and then their wives again;" and then encamp'd at two furlongs distance from the town.

These Greeks, in the mean time, withdrew themselves to deliberate concerning what they should desire the king to do for them. Some were for asking a settle-

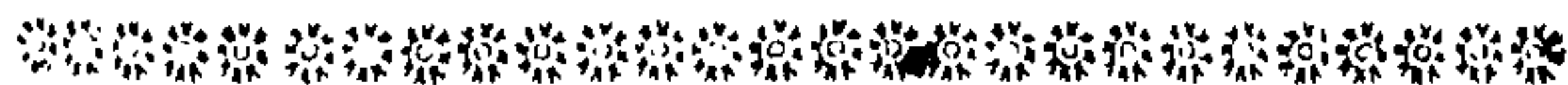
III. A

ment in Asia, others were for returning home, when Euthymon the Cymæan spoke to them after the following manner : “ They who a little while ago were ashamed
“ to come out of their dark dungeons to implore relief,
“ are now for exposing their hideous sufferings to all Greece,
“ as if it were an agreeable spectacle ; when at the same time,
“ it is hard to determine, whether we our selves are more ashamed or griev’d
“ at our misfortunes. Those bear their afflictions best,
“ who hide them. There is no country so suitable to the wretched,
“ as solitude, and an absolute oblivion of their former state.
“ For they who rely much on the compassion of their friends,
“ are ignorant that tears are soon dry’d up. No body can love sincerely those they loath ; for as calamity
“ is full of complaints, prosperity is distasteful. Every one considers his own circumstances,
“ when he deliberates concerning those of others ; and were we not equally miserable,
“ we had long ago loath’d each other. Is it a wonder, that the happy delight
“ in one another ? let us therefore, I beseech you, (since we may be said to be long since dead)
“ seek for a place where we may bury the remains of our mangled carcasses,
“ and conceal our deformities in a foreign country. We should be very agreeable
“ objects to those wives we marry’d in our youth ! can you imagine our children (who are now
“ in the flower of their age and prosperity) will own us ? or will our brothers be better-natur’d to the refuse of jays ?
“ Besides, how many are here amongst us who can travel so far ? it is a likely matter,
“ that at this distance from Europe, banish’d to the remotest parts of the east,
“ loaded with years and infirmities, having lost the greatest part of our selves,
“ we should be able to undergo those fatigues that have tir’d even the victorious army. Then
“ what

“ what will become of our present wives (that chance
“ and necessity forc’d us to take, as the only comfort
“ in our misery) and small children ? shall we drag
“ them along with us, or leave them behind us ? If
“ we take them with us, no body will own us. Shall
“ we then leave these present comforts, when it is all
“ together uncertain, whether we shall live to see
“ those we go to ? let us therefore resolve to hide
“ our selves among those who began to know us in
“ our state of misery.” This was Euthymon’s sentiment. But Thetetus the Athenian oppos’d thus :
“ There is no person of any humanity or good nature
“ who values his friends by the outward figure
“ of his circumstances, especially when it is the inhumanity
“ of an enemy, and not nature, that is the cause
“ of their calamity. He deserves all kind of evil,
“ who is asham’d of accidental misfortune. He can
“ have no other motive to think so hardly of the rest
“ of mankind, and to despair of pity, but because he
“ would refuse it to another. The gods now offer’d them
“ what they could never have hoped for, viz. the blessing
“ of returning to their native country, their wives and
“ children, and what ever men value life for, or despise
“ death to preserve. Why do we not then break out of
“ this prison ? our native air is quite different from this,
“ the light it self seems another thing : the Greeks manners,
“ religion, and language are in request with the Barbarians,
“ and shall we, whose birthright they are, voluntarily
“ forsake them ? when at the same time our greatest
“ misery is to be depriv’d of these blessings. As for my
“ part, I am resolv’d to return home to my native
“ country, and to lay hold of the king’s extraordinary
“ bounty. If any among us are so fond of those wives
“ and children that servitude has forc’d upon them,
“ they may continue here ;

“ here ; however, they ought to be no hindrance to
 “ those to whom nothing is dearer than their native
 “ country.”

Some few were of this opinion, the rest were overcome by a long habit, which is stronger than nature ; they agreed therefore “ to desire the king to
 “ assign them some place for their habitation ;” and chose a hundred out of their body, to prefer their petition. Alexander thinking they would ask, what he himself intended for them, told them, “ He had
 “ order’d every one of them a horse, and a thousand
 “ denarii ; and that when they should come to
 “ Greece, he would so provide for them, that (except the calamities they had experienc’d in their
 “ captivity) none should be happier than they.” At these words, they fell a weeping, and being dejected, could neither look up, nor speak ; which made the king enquire into the cause of their sadness. Then Euthymon made an answer suitable to what he had said to his companions. Hereupon the king, mov’d with their misfortune and resolution, order’d three thousand Denarii to be distributed to every one of them, besides ten suits of cloaths, with cattle, sheep, and such a quantity of corn, as was sufficient to cultivate the land that was assigned them,



C H A P. VI.

THE next day, having call’d together all his generals, he represented to them, “ That no
 “ city had been more mischievous to the Greeks, than
 “ this seat of the ancient kings of Persia : from
 “ hence came all those vast armies : from hence Darius first, and then Xerxes, made their impious wars
 Vol. I. N upon

“ upon Europe : it was therefore necessary to raze
“ it, to appease the Manes of their ancestors.” The
inhabitants had abandon’d it, and were fled some one
way, and some another ; so that the king led the
phalanx into it, without farther delay. He had be-
fore this made himself master of many towns of
regal wealth and magnificence, some by force, and
some by composition, but the riches of this exceeded
all the rest : hither the Persians had brought all their
substance ; gold and silver lay here in heaps : of
cloaths there was a prodigious quantity ; the furni-
ture of the houses seem’d not only design’d for use,
but for luxury and ostentation. This gave occasion to
the conquerors to fight among themselves, each tak-
ing for an enemy, his companion that had got the
richest spoils : and as they cou’d not carry off all
they found, they were now no longer employ’d in
taking, but in picking and chusing. They tore the
royal garments, every one being willing to have his
share of them : with axes they cut in pieces vessels of
exquisite art ; in fine, nothing was left untouch’d,
nor carry’d away entire ; the images of gold and sil-
ver were broke in pieces, according as every one
could lay hold of them. Avarice did not only rage
here, but cruelty likewise ; for being loaded with
gold and silver, they would not be troubled to guard
their prisoners, but inhumanly kill’d them, and now
barbarously murder’d those they had at first shewn
mercy to in hopes of gain. This occasion’d a great
many to prevent the enemy, by a voluntary death, so
that putting on their richest apparel, they cast them-
selves headlong from the walls, with their wives and
children : some set fire to their houses (which they
thought the enemy would do) and perish’d, with
their families, in the flames. At last the king gave
orders, “ not to injure the persons of the women,
“ nor meddle with their apparel.”

The immense treasures taken here exceeded all belief: but we must either doubt of all the rest, or believe, that in the exchequer of this place was found a hundred and twenty thousand talents; which the king designing for the use of the war, caus'd "horses" and camels to be brought from Susa to Babylon, "to carry it off for that purpose." This sum was afterward increas'd, by taking Persagadae, wherein were found six thousand talents. Cyrus had built this city; and Gobares, who was governor thereof, surrender'd it to Alexander.

The king made Nicarchides, governor of the castle of Persepolis, leaving with him a garrison of three thousand Macedonians: he also continu'd Tyridates (who had delivered up the treasure) in the same honours he had enjoy'd under Darius.

Alexander left here the greatest part of his army, with the baggage, under the command of Parmenio and Craterus; and taking with him a thousand horse, and part of the light-arm'd foot, penetrated farther into the country of Persia, under the Pleiades, about the beginning of winter. On his way, he was very much incommoded with storms of rain, and tempests that seem'd intolerable; notwithstanding which, he pursu'd his intended progress. He was now got into a country covered over with snow and ice: the sad view of the place, and the impassable wastes and solitudes, struck the tir'd soldier with horror, who now began to think he was got to the end of the world. They beheld with astonishment the frightful solitudes, which had not the least signs of human culture; they therefore requir'd him to return, "before" the very light and heavens fail'd them." The king forebore chastising them in the amazement they were in, but leaping from his horse, march'd on foot before them thro' the snow and ice. They were a-

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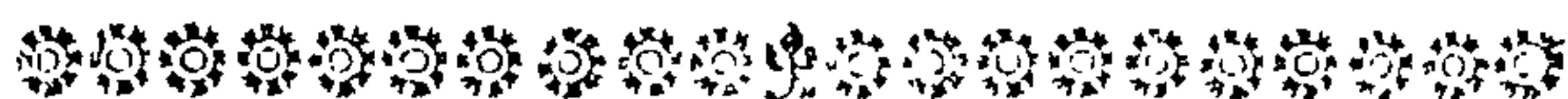
sham'd

sham'd not to follow him ; therefore first his friends, then the captains, and at last the soldiers march'd after him.

The king was the first that with a pickaxe broke the ice, and made himself a passage ; then the rest imitated his example. At length having made their way through woods almost impassable, they began to discover here and there some tokens that the place was inhabited, as also flocks of sheep wandering up and down. The inhabitants live in cottages, and thought themselves sufficiently secured by the impracticableness of the country. At the sight of the enemy, they presently kill'd those who could not follow them, and fled to the remotest mountains, which were covered with snow ; but after some conferences with the prisoners, their fright abated, and they surrender'd themselves to the king, who was no way severe to them.

Alexander having ravaged the country of Persia, and reduc'd several towns under his obedience, came at last into the country of the Mardians, who are a warlike nation, and very different from the rest of the Persians in their manner of living. They dig themselves caves in the mountains, where they dwell with their wives and children, feeding on their flocks, or wild beasts. The women are not of a softer nature than the men ; they have bushy hair, and their garments hardly reach their knees. They bind their forehead with a sling, which serves them both for ornament and weapon. However, the same torrent of fortune bore down this nation, as it had done the rest ; so that on the thirtieth day after he departed from Persepolis, he returned thither again.

Then he made presents to his friends, and to the rest according to their respective merit, distributing amongst them almost all that had been taken in the town.



C H A P. VII.

BUT the excellent endowments of his mind, that noble disposition whereby he surpass'd all kings, that manly constancy in surmounting dangers, that unparallel'd celerity in undertaking and executing the greatest designs, his inviolable faith to those who submitted to him, his wonderful clemency towards the prisoners, and his temperance in allowable and usual pleasures, were all fill'd by his excessive love of wine: for notwithstanding his enemy and rival for the empire, was at this very instant making the greatest preparations to renew the war, and the late conquer'd nations were yet uneasy under his new government, yet he would spend the day-time in revelling and feasting; to which entertainments the women were also admitted; not such whom it was a crime to violate, but such as were common, and whose conversation was a disgrace to a man in arms. One of these, whose name was Thais, being heated with wine, told him, "he could not do any thing that would more oblige all the Greeks, than if he burnt the palace of the kings of Persia; that they expected this by way of reprisal for those towns of theirs the Barbarians had destroy'd." This drunken harlot had no sooner spoke her opinion in a matter of so great a consequence, but presently some of the company (who were also loaded with wine) applauded the proposal: and the king not only heard it with patience, but eager to put it in execution, said, "Why do we not revenge Greece? Why do we delay setting fire to the town?" They were all heated with wine, and in that drunken condition im-

mediately rise to burn that city they had spared when armed. The king shew'd them the example, and was the first that set fire to the palace, after which his guests, servants, and concubines did the same. There being a great deal of cedar in this noble structure, it presently took fire, and communicated the flames. The army which was encamp'd not far from the town, first perceiv'd the conflagration, but imagining it to be casual, they ran to help to quench it: but being come to the entrance of the palace, and seeing the king himself carrying fresh faggots to increase the fire, they flung down the water they had brought, and fed the flames with dry materials.

This was the end of the noblest city of the east, from whence so many nations receiv'd their laws; which had been the birth-place of so many kings: formerly the chief terror of Greece; had fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail of ships, and sent out armies, that, like an inundation, almost covered all Europe, had laid bridges over the sea, and hollow'd mountains to make the sea a passage; and in so long a time as has elaps'd since its destruction, never was rebuilt: for the Macedonian kings made choice of other towns for their residence, which are now in the possession of the Parthians. The ruin of this city was so compleat, that were it not for the river Araxes, we should hardly know where it stood. This river run at no great distance from the walls of this town, which (as the neighbouring inhabitants rather conjecture than certainly know) was situate about twenty furlongs from it.

The Macedonians were ashamed so famous a city should be destroy'd by their king in a drunken humour. They therefore made a serious matter of it, and persuaded themselves, "it was expedient it should be consum'd this way." But as for Alexander,

ander, as soon as rest had restor'd him to himself, it is certain he repented of what he had done ; and he said, the Persians “ would have made more ample
“ satisfaction to Greece, had they been necessitated
“ to behold him sitting in Xerxes's throne in his
“ royal city.”

The next day he order'd thirty talents to be given to the Lycian, who had been his guide into Persia. From hence he pass'd into the country of Media, where he was met by new recruits from Cilicia. They consisted of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, both the one and the other were under the command of Plato the Athenian. Having receiv'd this reinforcement, he resolv'd to pursue Darius.



C H A P. VIII.

THIS prince was by this time got to Ecbatana, which is the capital of Media. The Parthians are now in possession of this town : it is the royal seat during the summer. Darius intended from hence to go into Baëtra ; but fearing to be prevented by Alexander's celerity, he alter'd his mind and shaped his course another way. Alexander was fifteen hundred furlongs distance from him, but now he thought no distance remote enough, against his expedition. He therefore rather prepar'd himself to fight, than to fly. He was follow'd by thirty thousand foot, amongst whom were four thousand Greeks of an invincible fidelity to the last towards the king. He had also four thousand slingers and archers, besides three thousand three hundred horse which consisted chiefly of Bactrians.

ans. They were commanded by Bessus, who was
governour of the city as well as the country of Bactra.
Darius with these forces march'd at some distance
from the high-way, commanding those who guarded
the baggage to go before. Then having call'd a
council, he spoke to this effect: " If fortune has
" link'd me with cowards, who preferr'd any kind
" of life to an honourable death, I would rather
" chuse to hold my tongue, than waste my breath in
" speeches to no purpose; but I have had greater
" experience than I could wish, both of your cou-
" rage and fidelity; so that I ought rather to endea-
" vour to shew my self worthy of such friends, than
" in the least doubt of your being like your selves.
" Out of so many thousand that were under my com-
" mand, you only have faithfully adher'd to me tho'
" twice conquer'd, and twice forced to fly. Your fi-
" delity and constancy make me believe I am still a
" king: it is true, the traitors and deserters at pre-
" sent reign in my towns; but it is not because they
" are thought worthy of that high station, but only
" to try by their rewards, to shake your loyalty.
" Notwithstanding which you have chose rather to
" share my fortune than that of the conqueror, and
" thereby shew'd your selves worthy to be recom-
" penc'd by the gods, if it should not be in my pow-
" er to do it, and no doubt they will do it. There
" can be no prosperity so deaf, no fame so ungrate-
" ful, as not with due praises to extol you to the
" skies. Therefore notwithstanding I had some
" thoughts of flying, contrary, heav'n knows, to
" my own disposition; yet relying on your bravery,
" I am willing to meet the enemy. For how long
" must I be an exile in my own kingdom? how long
" must I in my own dominions fly before a foreigner
" and strange king, when I have it in my own pow'r

“ to try the fortune of war once more, and either
“ recover what I have lost, or at least die an honour-
“ able death ? unless it should be thought better to
“ lie at the conqueror’s mercy, and after the example
“ of Mazeus and Mithrenes receive perhaps the pre-
“ carious sovereignty of a single nation. But even
“ upon supposition that he should chuse to gratifie
“ his vanity rather than his anger, I hope the
“ gods will never suffer any body to take the diadem
“ from my head, or to give it me again; neither
“ will I, while alive, resign my empire; my king-
“ dom and life shall end together. If you are thus
“ dispos’d, if this be a fix’d resolution among you,
“ none of you need to doubt of his liberty; none of
“ you shall be subject to the disdainful haughtiness of
“ the Macedonians. Your right-hands shall either
“ revenge your sufferings, or put an end to them.
“ I am my self an instance of the mutability of for-
“ tune, and I have reason to hope for her gentler
“ revolutions. But if the gods have no regard to
“ just and religious wars, it will still be in the power
“ of the brave to die honourably. I therefore con-
“ jure you by the glorious actions of our ancestors,
“ who have held the government of all the eastern
“ kingdoms with so much praise; by those great
“ men, to whom the Macedonians formerly paid tri-
“ bute; by the vast fleets that have been sent into
“ Greece; by the trophies of so many kings, I once
“ more beg and beseech you to arm your selves with
“ a courage worthy your noble extraction and nation,
“ and that you will bear with the same constancy
“ you have hitherto shewn, whatever fortune shall
“ for the future allot you. As for my own part, I
“ am resolv’d to signalize myself for ever, either by
“ a glorious victory, or a brave engagement.



C H A P. IX.

WHILE Darius was saying these things, the appearance of the present danger was so frightful to them, that the minds and hearts of them all were seiz'd with horror; none of them knew either what to think or say. At last Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, and who, as we said before, had formerly resided with Philip, declared himself to this purpose: "We are ready, Sir, to follow you into the field in our richest apparel and brightest armour, with this disposition, that we neither despair of victory, nor fear our fate." The rest seem'd to be of the same mind.

But Nabarzanes, with Bessus, had enter'd into an abominable, and before that time, unheard-of conspiracy, to seize the king, by the help of those troops they each commanded, with this design, that if Alexander persu'd them, to deliver him alive into his hands, and thereby ingratiate themselves with him, since he could not but be mightily pleas'd to have his enemy in his power; but if they found they could make their escapes, then to kill Darius, and seizing the kingdom, renew the war again. As they had for some time been hatching this treason, Nabarzanes laid hold of this occasion to pave the way to his wicked purpose, and said, "I am sensible, Sir, that what I am going to say, will not at first be grateful to you: but we see physicians cure desperate diseases with rough medicines; and the masters of ships, when they fear a shipwreck, fling a great part of

“ of their goods over-board to save the rest. How-
“ ever, I do not offer to persuade you to sustain any
“ loss. But on the contrary, by salutary measures
“ to preserve both your self and kingdom. The
“ gods seem to be against us in the war we make,
“ and fortune is obstinate in her persecution of the
“ Persians. We must therefore begin a-new, with
“ better omens. Resign your empire and the manage-
“ ment of affairs for a while to another, who shall be
“ no longer king than till the enemy withdraws from
“ Asia; and then the conqueror shall restore the sa-
“ cred depositum into your hands again. Reason
“ seems to promise this would not be long a doing.
“ Bactra is yet entire; the Indians and the Sagæ are
“ still at your devotion: there are so many nations,
“ so many armies, so many thousands of horse and
“ foot to renew the war with, that there is still more
“ left to carry it on, than has been lost. Why
“ should we then, after the manner of brutes, run
“ headlong to voluntary destruction? it is the business
“ of brave men to despise death rather than hate life.
“ Cowards are sometimes by continual hardships and
“ despair often brought to disregard their lives;
“ whereas true courage leaves nothing untry'd.
“ Death therefore is the very last remedy, which if a
“ man embraces chearfully when he can no longer
“ avoid it, he behaves as becomes a wise and brave
“ man. Let us then repair to Bactra, which is the
“ safest retreat, and let Bessus who is governour of
“ that country, be constituted King for a time; and
“ when the present troubles shall be happily settled,
“ he shall restore to you, as to his lawful sovereign,
“ the empire which he only receiv'd in trust.

It is no wonder Darius was transported at this dis-
course, altho' he was yet ignorant of the impious de-
signs it was intended to promote. Thou vile slave,

aid he, hast thou found a proper time to disclose thy parricide? and having drawn his sword, he seem'd dispos'd to kill him; but Bessus and the Bactrians, with dejected looks interpos'd, tho' they intended at the same time, to have bound him if he had persisted.

In the mean time Nabarzanes made his escape, and Bessus follow'd him, and they both immediately drew off their troops from the rest of the army, in order to take private measures. After their departure, Artabazus made a speech suitable to the present juncture of affairs, and endeavour'd to appease Darius's anger. "He entreated him to bear patiently the folly or error of those who were devoted to his service, and to consider, that Alexander was approaching, who would be found a heavy burden, tho' they were all ready and united: what would he then be, if any of those who had follow'd him in his flight, should be alienated from his interest? Darius was in this persuaded by him, and notwithstanding he design'd to have decamp'd, yet in the present confusion of affairs, he resolv'd to continue in the same place. But being oppress'd with grief and despair, he shut himself up in his tent. The army being now under no one's particular command, were variously dispos'd, and they did not now, as heretofore, deliberate in common: which Patron, who was captain of the Greeks perceiving, he order'd his men to take their arms, and to be ready on all occasions. The Persians had withdrawn themselves, and Bessus was with the Bactrians, and labour'd to bring the Persians over to him. He represented to them the wealth of Bactra, which was still untouch'd, and at the same time reminded them of the risks they would unavoidably run, if they stay'd where they were: but the Persians were all of one mind, and said, it was an unnatural crime to desert the king.

While these things were doing, Artabazus discharg'd the duty of a general: he went about the Persians tents, exhorting them sometimes apart, and sometimes all together, and did not leave them till he was pretty well assur'd of their obedience. Then returning to Darius, he with much difficulty at last prevail'd with him to eat, and demean himself like a king.



C H A P. X.

BUT Bessus and Nabarzanes were bent upon the execution of their execrable design, being inflam'd with an impotent desire of reigning, at the same time it was impossible for them to compass that authority while Darius was living; for amongst these people the majesty of king is held in the greatest veneration. At the very name, they assemble together from all parts, and constantly pay him the same adoration in adversity, which he us'd to receive from them in his prosperity. The country these impious wretches were governours of, serv'd to swell their ambitious minds; for it was as large in extent, and as powerful in men and arms, as any of those nations whatever, making almost the third part of Asia. The number of young men was sufficient to make good the vast armies Darius had lost. This made them not only despise Darius, but even Alexander himself, and imagine, that if they could but make themselves masters of that country, they might be able to restore the Persian empire.

After a long consultation, they resolv'd to seize the king by the Bactrian soldiers, who were intirely at their devotion, and then send a messenger to Alexander

ander to let him know they were ready to deliver him into his hands alive. If (which was what they fear'd) he should detest their treason, then they design'd to kill Darius, and repair with their forces to Bactra. But it was impossible for them to seize Darius openly, there being so many thousand Persians ready to assist him; besides which, they were also afraid of the faithful Greeks. They therefore resolv'd to compass by stratagem what they could not effect by force, and counterfeit a repentance of their fault in withdrawing themselves from the army, and likewise plead to the king the consternation they were in, as an excuse for their behaviour.

In the mean time, they dispatch'd emissaries to solicit the Persians to a revolt, and try to shake their constancy, by hopes on the one side, and fear on the other: they insinuated to them, "That they were
" exposing themselves to manifest ruin, and inevitable destruction: that Bactra was ready to receive
" them, and bestow on them presents and riches more
" than even their desires could conceive."

While these things were in agitation, Artabazus came to them, either by the king's order, or of his own motion, and assured them, "Darius's anger was
" appeas'd, and that he was ready to shew them the
" same favour as before." Hereupon they wept, and excus'd the fault, and begg'd of Artabazus "to
" intercede in their behalf, and implore the king's
" mercy." The night being pass'd after this manner, Nabarzanes repair'd to the entry of the king's tent with the Bactrian soldiers, covering his secret treachery, with a specious pretext of a solemn duty.

Darius having given the signal to march, seated himself in his chariot, according to custom, and Nabarzanes with the other parricides flung themselves upon the ground, and hypocritically worshipp'd him: they design'd suddenly to have in their custody a prisoner,

prisoner, shedding at the same time tears, the usual marks of repentance ; “ so false is the heart of man, “ and so practis’d in dissimulation.”

Darius, who was himself naturally sincere, and of a mild disposition, was mov’d by their prayers and submissive behaviour, and not only believ’d what they said, but wept himself. But even this had no influence over the hearts of these wretches, to make them repent of their villainous designs, though their eyes were witnesses how worthy a person they deceiv’d, both as a man, and as a king. As for his part, not dreaming of the danger that was at hand, he made all the haste he could to escape falling into the hands of Alexander, whom he only dreaded.



C H A P. XI.

PATRON who commanded the Greeks, order’d his men “ to put on their armour, which “ us’d to be carry’d with the baggage, and to be “ ready on all occasions, to execute his orders.” He follow’d the king’s chariot, watching for an opportunity to speak to him ; for he had penetrated into Bessus his design ; which Bessus mistrusting, would not depart from the chariot, but follow’d it close, rather like one who guarded Darius as a prisoner, than as an attendant of the king. Patron therefore having waited a considerable time, often suppressing what his tongue was just going to utter, (as hesitating betwixt fidelity and fear) kept his eyes fixt on the king, who at last (perceiving it) sent Bubaces, one of his eunuchs to him, to enquire, “ if he had any thing “ to say to him ?” Patron made answer “ Yes, but “ without

“ without a witness.” Being hereupon commanded to draw near, without any interpreter ; for Darius understood Greek, he told the king ; “ Sir, of fifty
“ thousand Greeks that we were in your service,
“ there is now but a small number of us left, who
“ have accompany’d you in all your variety of fortune ; and are the same towards you in your present condition, as we were in your most prosperous state. Whatever place you shall repair to, we shall consider as our own homes and native country : your prosperity and adversity, have link’d us to you. I therefore beg and beseech you by this our invincible fidelity, to pitch your tent amongst us, and suffer us to be the guards of your sacred person. We have lost Greece, and have now Bactra to repair to. All our hope is in yourself, and I wish we had no reason to distrust others. It is needless to say more. As I am a foreigner and stranger, I should not ask to be the guard of your royal person, if I thought it could be safe with any other.”

Notwithstanding Bessus was ignorant of the Greek tongue, yet his guilty conscience made him believe Patron had discovered him ; but he was assured of it by one that understood the Greek language, and had overheard what was said. Darius no way frighten’d, as could be perceived by his countenance, told Patron the cause of his advice. Whereupon, thinking it dangerous to delay it any longer, he reply’d, “ Sir, Bessus and Nabarzanes have conspir’d against you ; your fortune and life are in the utmost peril. This day will be either yours, or the parties last.” Had the king heeded this information, Patron had had the glory of preserving his life. But let them turn this to a jest that will, who hold that human affairs are guided by a blind chance ; for my part I believe they depend upon an eternal decree.

and on a chain of hidden causes, and that every one performs his race under the direction of an immutable law. Darius's answer was, "That although the
 " fidelity of the Greek soldiers was sufficiently
 " known to him, yet he was resolv'd never to with-
 " draw himself from his native subjects. That it
 " was more vexatious to him to distrust than to be
 " deceiv'd. That he would rather suffer whatever
 " fortune was preparing for him, than desert his
 " own people; and that he had already liv'd too
 " long, if his own soldiers plotted his destruction." Patron therefore despairing of the king's welfare, return'd to his post, ready to run any hazard, rather than be wanting in his fidelity.



C H A P. XII.

BESSUS had in a manner resolv'd upon killing the king forthwith, but apprehending he should not ingratiate himself with Alexander, unless he deliver'd him up alive, he deferr'd his intended villainy to the next night. In the mean time he came to Darius, "and gave him thanks that he had so prudently declin'd the treachery of a perfidious man,
 " who began already to have an eye on Alexander's
 " growing power, for most certainly he designed to
 " have made him a present of the king's head; but it
 " was no wonder that a mercenary man made a traffic of every thing, since he had neither pledge
 " nor home, and was in a manner banish'd out of
 " the world; an enemy that would fight on either
 " side, and always ready to serve those who bid
 " most." After this he began to justify himself,
 " and call'd the tutelar gods of the country to wit-
 " ness

“ nefs his innocence and fidelity.” Darius by his countenance feem’d to believe him, tho’ he no way doubted of the Greek’s information ; but in the prefent juncture, it was equally dangerous to diftruff his fubjects, or to be betray’d by them. There were thirty thoufand of them whose inclination to villainy was to be fufpected, and there were but four thoufand Greeks under Patron, to whom if he fhould commit the care of his perfon, diftruffing his own fubjects, he faw they would make that the excufe of their parricide, and therefore he chofe rather to perifh undeservedly, than to give them a pretext for their crime. However, he made answer to Bessus, “ That Alexander’s juftice was not lefs known to
“ him than his valour : that they were deceiv’d
“ who expected from him a reward for treason,
“ fince there could not be a more rigid chaftifer of
“ infidelity.” The night drawing on, the Perfians, according to custom, laid by their arms, and went to the next village to fupply themfelves with neceffaries ; but the Bactrians, by Bessus’s order, flood to their arms. In the mean time, Darius fent to Artabazus to come to him, and having related what Patron had told him, Artabazus, without hefitating, was for his paffing immediately into the Greeks camp, affuring him that the Perfians would not fail to join him as foon as they underftood his danger ; but being doom’d to his lot, he was no longer capable of wholefome advice, fo that embracing Artabazus for the laft time, (who was the only comfort he had in his prefent circumftances) they both wept bitterly, and the king was forc’d at laft to order him to be taken from him, he being unwilling to leave him. Darius covered his head that he might not fee him depart in fo much affliction, and then flung himfelf upon the ground. At the fame time his guards, whose duty it was to defend the king’s perfon at their own perils, fled from
them

their post, not thinking themselves a match for the conspirators whom they expected every minute. The king was now in a manner left alone, there remaining with him only a few eunuchs, who did not know where to go. In this solitary condition he ruminated on several things, 'till tir'd with that lonesomeness which he had had recourse to, to ease his mind, he order'd Bubaces to be call'd to him, who being come, he said, "Get you gone likewise, and take care of
" yourselves ; you have discharged your duty to
" your prince. For my part, I'll here expect my
" doom. Perhaps you may wonder I do not with
" my own hand end my days : but I had rather perish through another's crime, than by my own.

At these words the eunuch not only fill'd the tent, but the whole camp, with mournful cries and lamentations ; then several others enter'd also, and tearing their cloaths bewail'd the deplorable condition of their king. At last these howlings reach'd the Persians quarters, who seiz'd with terror, did neither dare to take to their arms for fear of the Bactrians, nor keep themselves quiet, lest they should be thought shamefully to desert their sovereign.

A various dissonant clamour run through the camp, which was now without a head or director ; they who belong'd to Nabarzanes and Bessus, mistaking these doleful lamentations, told them, " The king had laid
" violent hands upon himself." They therefore flew to the tent with those who were to be the executioners of their abominable villainy ; and understanding at their arrival there that the king was living, these wretches order'd him to be seiz'd and bound.

Thus he who a little while ago was carried in a magnificent chariot, and honour'd by his subjects as if he had been a god, was now (without the concurrence of foreign power) made a prisoner by his own slaves, and put into a sorry cart, covered over with
skins.

skins. The king's money and furniture is rifled and plunder'd, as if it had been done by the laws of war; and having after this manner loaded themselves with booty, the wages of the vilest impiety, they fled.

Artabazus, with those under his command, and the Greek troops, march'd towards Parthia, thinking themselves to be safer any where than in the society of parricides; as for the Persians, (Bessus having made them vast promises, but chiefly because they had no body else to follow) join'd the Bactrians. However, that it might not be said they did not honour their king, they bestow'd golden fetters upon Darius. " Fortune seeming industrious to find out new ways, " to insult this prince." Now that he might not be known by his apparel, they covered the cart, as we said before, with sordid skins, and caus'd it to be driven by strangers, that he might not be discovered to any that should enquire after him, the guards following at a distance.



C H A P. XIII.

Alexander being inform'd Darius was broke up from Ecbatana, leaving the road that led to Media, resolv'd to follow him with the utmost diligence. While he was at Tabas, which is a town situate in the extreme parts of Parætacene, deserters acquaint him, that Darius was making all the haste he could to get into Baëtra. Afterwards he was more certainly inform'd by Bagysthenes the Babylonian, " That the king was not as yet in chains, but was in " the greatest danger, either of losing his life or be- " ing made a prisoner.

The

The king having therefore call'd a council, told them, " We have still to execute a matter of the
" greatest consequence, but the labour will be very
" short; for Darius is not far from hence, either de-
" ferted or slain by his own men. Our victory de-
" pends on our making our selves master of his per-
" son, and this mighty thing is to be compass'd by
" expedition." To which they all reply'd, with
acclamation, " That they were ready to follow him
" where-ever he pleased, and desir'd him neither to
" spare their labour or their lives." Hereupon he
led the army with such expedition that it resembled
more a race than a march, he did not so much as let
them rest in the night. After this manner he march'd
five hundred furlongs, and was now come to the
place where Bessus had seiz'd Darius. Here Melon,
Darius's interpreter, is taken prisoner; for being sick,
he had not been able to follow the army; so that
finding himself surpriz'd by Alexander's expedition,
he feign'd himself a deserter. By this man he was
inform'd of every thing; but it was now requisite to
give his army rest, he therefore made choice of six
thousand horse, to whom he added three hundred of
those they call'd Dimachæ, these were heavy-arm'd
horse, but if occasion and the place requir'd it, they
serv'd also on foot.

While Alexander was thus employ'd, Orsillos and
Mythræenes, who detested Bessus's parricide, surren-
der'd themselves to him, " and acquainted him, that
" the Persians were five hundred furlongs off, but
" they would shew him a nearer way." The king
receiv'd them graciously, and in the beginning of the
night taking them for his guides, he set forwards
with the light horse, commanding the phalanx to
follow as fast as they could. He march'd in a square
body, and so moderated his speed as not to leave any
of his men behind him; they had already march'd
three

three hundred furlongs, when Brocubelus, Mazæus's son, (who had been heretofore governor of Syria, but was now also come over to Alexander) inform'd him, "that Bessus was but two hundred furlongs off; and "that his army (which mistrusted nothing) observed "no manner of order in their march; that they "seem'd to make towards Hircania, and if he hasten'd his march, he might come suddenly upon "them as they were dispers'd up and down." He told him also, "That Darius was still alive."

This account made him still more eager to overtake him, so that clapping spurs to their horses they made all the haste they could: after some time they came within the noise of the enemy, but the clouds of dust intercepted the sight of them; he therefore now abated his speed, to give the dust time to settle again upon the ground. In a little time they were discover'd by the Barbarians, whose flying army they likewise perceiv'd; and, in all probability, would have had the worst of it, if Bessus had been as resolute to fight as he had shewn himself to commit the parricide; for the Barbarians were much superior in number and strength; besides they were fresh, whereas Alexander's army was fatigu'd. But the very name of Alexander, and his fame, which are of great moment in war, made them take to their heels. Bessus, and the rest of his associates, came now to Darius, and desir'd him to get on horseback, and make his escape from the enemy; but he refus'd it, and told them, "That the avenging gods were at "hand:" and invoking Alexander's justice, said, "He would not follow parricides any longer." This so inflam'd their anger, that they cast their darts at him, and having given him several wounds, they left him; they also wounded the horses that drew him, that they might not be able to go any farther, killing

ing likewise the two servants that attended on the king.

After the commission of this villany, in order to puzzle the pursuers, they took different courses in their flight: Nabarzanes made towards Hircania, and Bessus towards Bactra, being accompany'd with only a small number of horsemen. The Barbarians being forsaken by their leaders, dispers'd themselves here and there, according as they were directed by fear or hope; only five hundred horse had got together, and seem'd unresolv'd, whether they should defend themselves, or fly.

Alexander understanding the enemy's consternation, detach'd Nicanor with part of his cavalry to stop the enemy's flight, and follow'd himself with the remainder. About three thousand of those who made resistance were kill'd, and the rest were driven like sheep or cattle, without any farther mischief, the king having given orders "to abstain from shedding any more blood." None of the prisoners could give any account of Darius; every one examin'd strictly whatever he could lay his hands on, and yet they could not make any discovery of him.

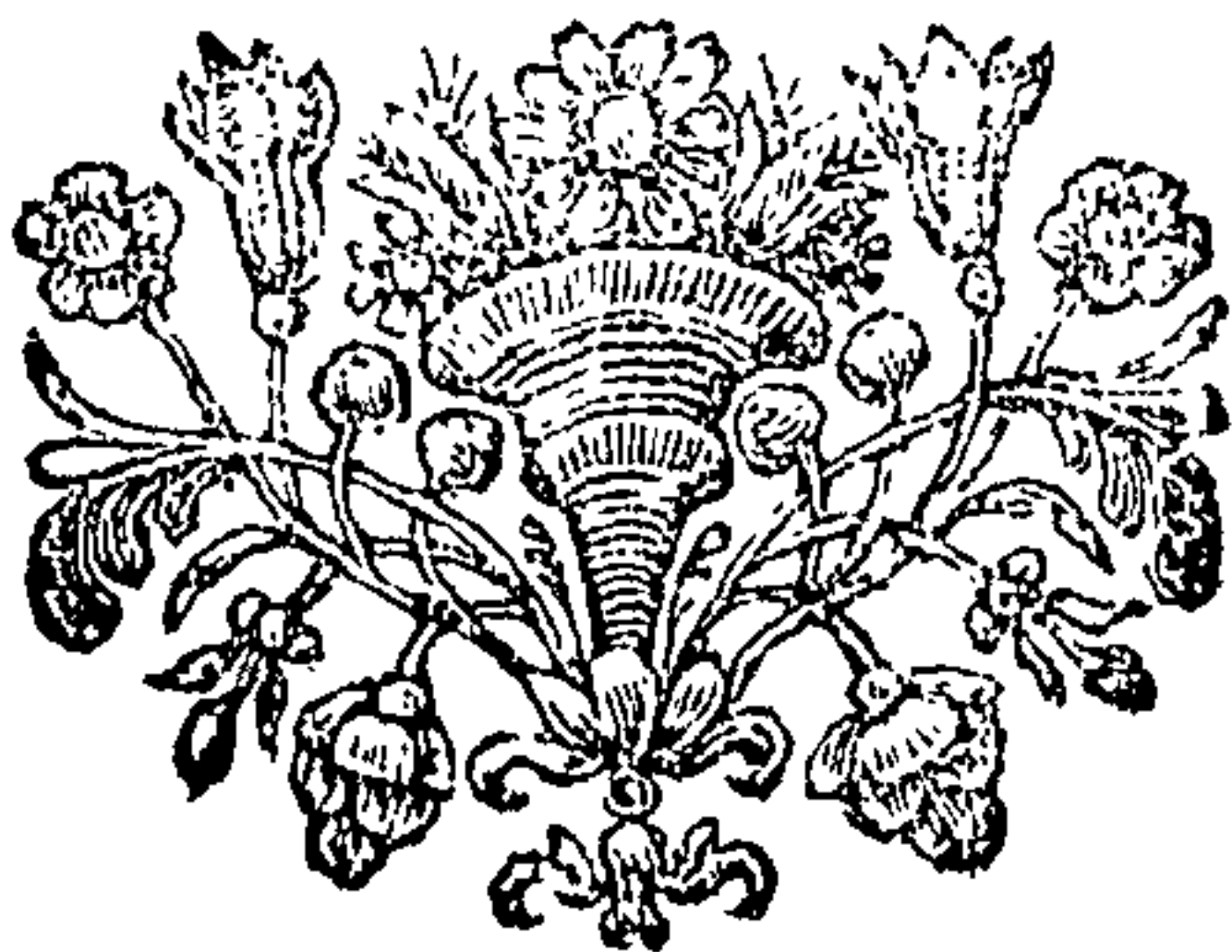
Alexander made such violent haste that he had hardly three thousand horse with him, but several bodies of the fugitives fell into the hands of those that follow'd him. It is almost incredible, that there should be more prisoners than there were men to take them; fear had so robb'd them of all manner of sense, that they could not so much as reflect either on the inconsiderable number of the enemy, or their own multitude.

In the mean time, the cattle that drew Darius, having no body to govern them, were got out of the highway, and having wander'd about four furlongs stopp'd in a certain valley, being faint both by their wounds and the heat. There was a spring not far
off,

off, which some of the country had shew'd to Polystratus a Macedonian, who was almost perishing with thirst. While he was here drinking water out of his helmet, he observ'd the darts that stuck in the bodies of the wounded cattle ; and wondering they were not rather taken away than kill'd, he perceiving at the same time the voice of a man half dead, out of a natural curiosity could not help reaching into the waggon to discover what might be hid there, and so removing the skins which cover'd it, he found Darius there, wounded in several parts of his body. Darius understood something of the Greek language, and upon this occasion said, " That at least it was a comfort to him in his present calamity, that he had the opportunity of speaking to one that understood him," and so should not utter his dying words in vain; he order'd him therefore to tell Alexander, " That tho' he had never deserv'd any thing at his hands, yet it was his lot to die very much indebted to him for his good offices. That he gave him a great many thanks for the civilities he had shewn his mother, wife and children, to whom he had not only granted life, but maintain'd also according to their former rank and dignity ; whereas he was depriv'd of all these blessings by his own kind men and friends, to whom he had given both life and kingdoms. That he therefore out of gratitude begg'd of the gods, that they would bless his arms, and make him conqueror of the whole world. That he hop'd he would not neglect revenging the base usage he had receiv'd from traitors, not only on his private account, but for example sake, and the good of all kings, since it would be no less glorious to him than beneficial. He was now faint, and call'd for some water, which being brought to him by Polystratus, he drank, and then said to him," " Whoever thou art, it adds to
" all

“ all my other misfortunes, that I have not where-
“ with to acknowledge this great kindness; but A-
“ lexander will do it for me, and the gods will re-
“ ward him for his extraordinary humanity and cle-
“ mency towards my family; thou shalt give him
“ therefore my hand, as the only pledge I have of
“ the sincerity of my wishes.

Having utter'd these words, and taken Polystratus by the hand, he expir'd. When Alexander was inform'd of it, he came to the place, and reflecting how unworthy that death was of his high rank, he wept, and taking off his cloak spread it over the dead body; afterwards he caus'd it to be dress'd in royal apparel, and sent it to Syfigambis, to be bury'd after the manner of the kings of Persia, among the royal tombs of his ancestors.





QUINTUS CURTIUS.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

WHILE these things were transacting in Asia, there happen'd some disturbance in Greece and Macedonia. Agis, the son of Archidamus, who was slain as he assisted the Tarentins, on the same day that Philip overcame the Athenians near Chæronea, was then king of Lacedemon : this prince, out of an emulation to Alexander's courage and virtue, solicited his citizens " not to suffer Greece to be any longer oppress'd under the servitude of the Macedonians ; " for if a remedy were not apply'd in time, they " would not fail to be enslav'd after the same manner ; it was necessary therefore, he said, to exert " themselves while the Persians were still able to " make some resistance ; that if they staid till they " were quite reduc'd, it would be to no purpose " then to assert their ancient freedom against so " mighty

“mighty a power.” The Lacedemonians being stir’d up by this speech, only waited for a favourable opportunity to begin the war; and being encourag’d by Memnon’s success, they began to join their counsels to his, and notwithstanding he was taken off in the beginning of his prosperous career, they still pursu’d their measures with the same vigour. Agis went to Pharnabazus and Autophradates, and obtain’d from them thirty talents and ten galleys, which he sent to his brother Agesilaus, to enable him to pass into Crete, whose inhabitants were divided in their affections to the Lacedemonians and Macedonians. Ambassadors were also sent to Darius, to solicit for a larger sum of money, and a greater number of ships; and altho’ the Persians had been lately defeated near Issus, it was so far from being a hindrance to their obtaining their demands, that it made them more readily comply therewith; for as Alexander was intent on his pursuit after Darius, who led him still farther into the country, a great number of the hir’d troops after this battle, fled into Greece; so that Agis, by the means of the Persian money, took eight thousand of them into his service, and by their assistance retook the greatest part of the Cretan towns. But when Memnon, whom Alexander had sent into Thrace, had stirr’d up the Barbarians to revolt, and Antipater was march’d with an army from Macedonia to compose those troubles; the Lacedemonians laying hold of that opportunity, brought almost all Peloponnesus (except a few towns) over to their interest, and having raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, gave the command of it to Agis. Antipater being inform’d hereof, settled the affairs of Thrace as well as he could, return’d to Greece with all possible diligence, and there gather’d what forces he could from the friends and cities that

were in alliance with Alexander ; so that in a little time he found himself at the head of forty thousand effective men. There came to him also a strong body from Peloponnesus, but as he had some distrust of them, he dissembled his suspicion, and thank'd them “ for shewing themselves so ready to defend “ Alexander’s dignity against the Lacedemonians ; ” and assured them, “ he would not fail to acquaint the “ king therewith, who in time would also thank them “ himself ; but at the present he did not want any “ farther reinforcements ; that therefore they might “ return home, having sufficiently discharged the obligations of their alliance.”

Then he dispatched expresses to Alexander, to acquaint him with the commotions in Greece, who overtook him at Bactra. In the mean time Antipater obtain’d a compleat victory in Arcadia, Agis being killed in the battle.

However, Alexander (being inform’d before of these disturbances in Greece) had taken all the proper measures against them, which the distance of place could allow ; for he had order’d Amphoterus to sail to Peloponnesus with the Cyprian and Phœnician ships, and had also directed Menes to convoy three thousand talents to the sea side, that he might be near at hand to supply Antipater with what money he should know he wanted. For he knew very well of what moment the issue of these troubles might prove to all his other affairs, and yet when he was inform’d of the victory obtain’d by Antipater, comparing that action with his own achievements, he in derision call’d it “ the battle of the mice : ” yet in the beginning of this war, the Lacedemonians were not unsuccessful ; for encountering with Antipater’s forces near Corraghus, a castle in Macedonia, they had the advantage ; the report of which success drew over to their party, those whose minds were in suspense,

pence, till they saw which way fortune would incline : there was but one town among the Elæans and Achæans, viz. Pellene, that did not enter into their alliance : in Arcadia, Megalopolis also remain'd faithful to the Macedonians, out of respect to Philip's memory, from whom they had receiv'd favours ; but at the same time it was closely besieg'd, and could not have held out long, had not Antipater come seasonably to its relief ; who having pitch'd his camp not far from that of the enemy's, and finding himself, upon a comparison of his and their strength, not only superior to them in number of men, but also in all military provisions, he resolv'd to come to a decisive engagement as soon as ever he could. On the other side, the Lacedæmonians did not decline coming to an engagement, so that a battle was fought that very much distressed the Spartan affairs ; for, confiding in the straitness of the place where they fought, (which they thought would render the enemy's advantage in number of no use to them) they behav'd themselves gallantly for a while ; nor did the Macedonians shew less vigour in their resistance, which occasion'd a great deal of blood to be spilt on both sides ; but Antipater sending seasonably fresh succours to that part of his army that labour'd most, the Lacedæmonians were obliged at last to give ground. Agis no sooner perceiv'd this, but with the royal regiment (which was compos'd of the stoutest men) † he flung himself where the fight was sharpest, and killing those who were most forward to resist, he drove a great part of the enemies before him. They who were before victorious, now began to fly, till they drew their too eager pursuers into the open plain ; a great many were killed in the flight, but the Macedonians had no sooner gain'd a ground where

† Here ends Freinshemius's Supplement of this book.

they could rally, and recover their order, but they renew'd the fight, which was for a while continu'd with equal bravery on both sides. Of all the Lacedemonians, the king distinguish'd himself most, he was not only remarkable by his arms and person, but also by his greatness of soul, in which alone he was invincible: he was attack'd on all sides, both at a distance and near at hand, yet he maintain'd the fight a considerable time, receiving some of the darts in his buckler, and declining others by his extraordinary agility, till being at last run through both his thighs with a spear, and having lost a great quantity of blood, his strength failed him. Then his attendants took him upon his buckler, and carry'd him in haste to the camp, tho' the violent motion was very painful to him by reason of his wounds. The Lacedemonians did not for this leave off fighting, but as soon as ever the ground was more favourable to them than the enemy, they clos'd their ranks, and gallantly receiv'd their furious charges. It is believed there never was a more desperate fight than this, wherein were engag'd the armies of the two most warlike nations in the world, and for a considerable time with equal advantage. The Lacedemonians reflected on their former glory, and the Macedonians were animated by their present grandeur; those fought for liberty, and these for sovereignty: the Lacedemonians wanted a head, and the Macedonians were straitned for room. The various changes and accidents of this day were such as sometimes encreas'd the hope, and sometimes the fear of both parties, as if fortune had on purpose equally dispens'd her favours to these brave men. But the straitness of the place where the fight was still obstinate, and the victory wavering, would not permit the whole forces to engage, so that there were more spectators than combatants, and those on each side, who were

out of the cast of the darts, encourag'd their companions by their acclamations. However, the Lacedemonians began now to faint, and could hardly hold their arms, that were slippery with blood and sweat, so that the enemy still pressing upon them, at first gave way, and were at last put to an open flight. The conqueror pursu'd the scatter'd forces, and having pass'd over all the ground the Lacedemonian army at first took up, was in pursuit of Agis himself. But he no sooner beheld his men flying, and the enemy drawing near him, than he commanded those who carry'd him to set him down, and then try'd whether his limbs were able to second his resolution: but finding they were not, he plac'd himself on his knees, and having put on his helmet, and covered his body with his buckler, he with his right hand shak'd his spear, and challeng'd any of the enemies to come and take away his spoils. Not one of them dar'd to come near him, but a great many cast their darts at him afar off, which he return'd again upon the enemy, till at last one of them lodg'd itself in his naked breast. The same was no sooner pass'd out of his wound, but he grew faint, and gently lean'd his head on his buckler, and soon after resigning his spirit with his blood, he fell dead upon his arms.

There were slain of the Lacedemonians five thousand three hundred and sixty, and of the Macedonians three hundred; but there hardly returned to the camp a single person that was not wounded. This victory did not only quell the Spartans and their confederates, but disappointed all those who depended on their success. Antipater was not insensible that the hearts of those that congratulated his victory did not agree with their outward appearance, but as he desir'd to put an end to the war, it was necessary for him to be deceiv'd; and notwithstanding he was

O 4

pleas'd

pleas'd with his success, yet he was afraid of envy, because what he had done exceeded his station : for tho' Alexander was very desirous to have his enemies overcome, yet he could not forbear discovering by words that he could not easily brook that Antipater should be the conqueror, for he look'd upon that honour that was gained by another, to be a derogation to his own. This was the reason why Antipater (who knew his disposition perfectly) did not dare to conclude any thing upon the victory, but had recourse to the council of Greece, to determine what was fit to be done. The Lacedemonians desir'd nothing more of it, than that they might be allow'd to send ambassadors to the king, which being granted, he readily pardon'd them all, except the authors of the rebellion. The Achæans and Ætolians were commanded to pay one hundred and twenty talents to the Megolopolitans immediately after the revolt. Thus ended this war, which being kindled on the sudden, was nevertheless finish'd before Alexander defeated Darius at Arbela.



C H A P. II.

Alexander, whose genius was better qualify'd for the toils of war, than for ease and quiet, no sooner found himself deliver'd from military cares, but he presently gave himself up to all manner of voluptuousness ; and he that had shewn himself invincible to the arms of the Persians, was easily subdu'd by their vices. He delighted in unseasonable entertainments, and would pass whole nights in drinking and revelling, having with him crowds of prostitutes ; in a word, he struck into all the foreign manners, as if he
thought

thought them preferable to those of his own country, and by that procedure offended both the eyes and minds of his own people to such a degree, as to be look'd upon by the major part of them as an enemy ; for he in a manner forc'd the Macedonians (who were tenacious of their own frugal discipline, and were accusom'd to relieve the wants of nature with a cheap diet, and such as was easily procur'd) to indulge the foreign vices of the conquer'd nations. This occasion'd several conspiracies against him, the soldiers mutiny'd, and in the height of their grief would speak their minds freely ; hence proceeded his groundless suspicions, his indiscreet fears, and other evils of the like nature, which we shall hereafter give an account of.

As Alexander therefore pass'd the nights as well as days in unseasonable feasting, he reliev'd the satiety of these entertainments with plays and musick, and was not contented with such performers as he had from Greece, but order'd also the women that were prisoners to sing after their manner, whose uncouth and barbarous songs were altogether disagreeable to the Macedonians, who were strangers to it. Among these women he observ'd one to be more dejected than the rest, and seem'd modestly to resist those who would introduce her for that purpose ; she was a perfect beauty, and her becoming modesty made her charms still more conspicuous. Her cast down eyes, and the care she took to hide her face as much as she could, gave the king some reason to suspect she was of too high rank to be expos'd at those ludicrous entertainments : he therefore ask'd her, “ Who she
“ was ? she answered, she was grand-daughter to
“ Ochus, who not long ago had been king of Persia,
“ and whose son was her father ; and that she had
“ been married to Histaspes : this Histaspes was
“ himself a relation of Darius, and had had the com-
O ; “ mand

mand of a considerable army." The king retain'd yet some small remains of his former virtues; respecting therefore in her adversity, her royal extraction, and so celebrated a name as was that of Ochus; he not only commanded her to be set at liberty, but also to be restor'd to all her possessions, and gave orders to have her husband found out, that he might restore her to him.

The next day after, he gave orders to Hephæstion to cause all the captives to be brought before him, and having examin'd into every one's extraction, he separated those that were nobly descended from the rest. These were ten in number, amongst whom was Oxathres, Darius's brother, who was not less deserving for his natural endowments, than for his eminent rank. The last booty amounted to twenty six thousand talents, of which sum twelve thousand were distributed among the soldiers by the way of donative; and the like sum was embezell'd by those who had the care thereof.

At this time there was a nobleman of Persia, whose name was Oxydates, still detain'd in prison, and was destin'd by Darius to suffer capital punishment; Alexander not only set him at liberty, but also conferr'd upon him the government of Media. As for Darius's brother, he receiv'd him into the band of his friends, and preserv'd to him all the honour due to his illustrious birth.

From hence he march'd into Parthiene, which was then a contemptible nation, but at this time is the most considerable of all those that lie behind the Euphrates and the Tigris, and extends it self as far as the red-sea. The Scythians made themselves masters of this champian, fruitful country, and are still troublesome enough to their neighbours; they have territories in both Europe and Asia; those who inhabit above the Eosphorus belong to Asia; and those that

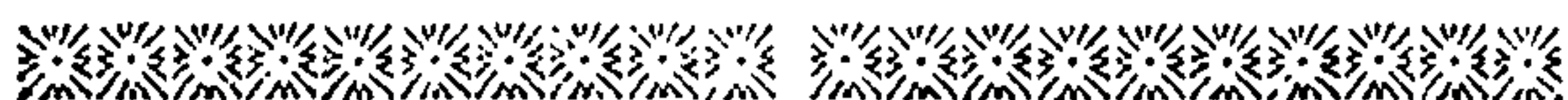
are in Europe, enjoy the countries that lie on the left of Thrace, as far as the Borysthenes, and from thence to the Tanais, another river. The Tanais runs between Europe and Asia; and it is no way doubted, but the Scythians, from whence the Parthians descend, came not from the Bosphorus, but out of Europe.

There was at this time a famous city call'd Hecatompylos, built by the Greeks. Here the king remain'd some time, being supply'd with provisions from all parts. While he encamp'd in this place, a sudden rumour arose, without any other ground or author than the wanton idleness of the army; "that the king being contented with what he had done, design'd to return forthwith to Macedonia." The soldiers hereupon run to their tents, like mad men, and pack'd up their baggage; one would have thought the signal had already been given to decamp.

The camp was now all in confusion, some running up and down to seek their comrades, and others loading the waggon; so that it came at last to the king's ears. This false rumour was the more easily believed because he had discharg'd some Greeks, with orders to return to their own homes, having given six thousand denarii to each trooper; and from hence the rest of the army concluded that the war was at an end.

Alexander, who had resolv'd within himself to pass into India, and the remotest parts of the east, was no less alarm'd hereat, than the consequence of the thing requir'd; he therefore order'd all the general officers to repair to his tent, and there with tears in his eyes, complain'd to them, "That he was stopp'd in the middle of his glorious career, and compell'd to return home more like one that was conquer'd, than a conqueror; and this not thro' the cowardice of his army, but the envy of the gods, who had on the sudden infus'd into the minds of the brave men that compos'd it, a longing desire to see their own
O O " country,

“ country, whither in a little time he intended to
 “ lead them himself, loaded with honour and glory.”
 Hereupon every one of them offer’d afresh their service to him, and begg’d to be employ’d in the most difficult undertakings; assuring him, “ He need not
 “ doubt of the soldiers ready obedience, if he would
 “ but make them a proper speech, suitable to the
 “ present occasion; since they were never known to
 “ depart from him in the least dispirited or dejected,
 “ whenever he thought fit to diffuse amongst them his
 “ own alacrity, and some portion of the vigour of his great and noble mind.” He therefore promis’d to do as they desir’d, and order’d them to go and prepare their ears for his purpose; and having maturely consider’d with himself all that was requisite on this occasion, he order’d the army to be drawn out, and then made the following speech to them.



C H A P. III.

“ **I**T is not to be wonder’d at, soldiers, that when
 “ you look back on the many great things we
 “ have done, a desire of rest, and a satiety of glory
 “ should steal upon you. For, not to mention the
 “ Illyrians, the Triballi, Bœotia, Thrace, Sparta, the
 “ Achæans, and Peloponnesians, all whom I have
 “ subdu’d, either in person, or by my appointment
 “ and directions; we enter’d upon a war at the
 “ Hellespont, and deliver’d the Ionians and Æolia
 “ from the cruel servitude of the Barbarians, and
 “ have made ourselves masters of Caria, Lydia,
 “ Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pi-
 “ sidia,

“*fidia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Armenia, Persia,*
“*Media, and Parthiene. I have conquer’d more*
“*provinces, than others have taken towns; and I*
“*cannot tell, but in this recital, the great number*
“*may have made me still forget some. If therefore*
“*I were certain, these countries we have over-run in*
“*so short a time, would remain firm to us, I would*
“*then, even against your wills, soldiers, be for re-*
“*turning to my household gods, to my mother, and*
“*sisters, and the rest of my citizens, that I might*
“*there chiefly enjoy with you, the praise and glory*
“*we have acquir’d; where we can have a full fru-*
“*ition of the rewards of our victories, in the joyful*
“*conversation of our children, wives, and parents,*
“*in a profound peace and secure rest, and an un-*
“*disturb’d possession of the fruits of our bravery.*
“*But as our empire is yet new, and (if we will*
“*speak the truth) even precarious; since the Barba-*
“*rians bear our yoke at present but with a stiff neck,*
“*it is time, soldiers, that must tame their minds,*
“*and soften their savage temper. Do we not see,*
“*that the very fruits of the earth require their proper*
“*seasons to ripen in? So great an influence has*
“*time even over those things that are void of sense.*
“*Can you imagine then, that so many nations,*
“*enur’d to the empire and name of another, disagree-*
“*ing with us in religion and manners, as well as lan-*
“*guage, can be perfectly subdu’d the day they are*
“*overcome? No, soldiers, it is your arms that re-*
“*strain them, and not their wills: and tho’ your*
“*presence keeps them in awe, when once you are*
“*absent, they’ll declare themselves your enemies.*
“*We have to do with wild beasts, which, when*
“*taken and shut up, are tam’d by length of time; a*
“*thing not to be hop’d for otherwise, from their own*
“*fierce natures. I am talking all this while as if*
“*we had wholly subdu’d all Darius’s dominions;*
“*but*

“ but that’s a mistake, for Nabarzanes possesses Hyr-
“ cania, and Bessus the parricide has not only seiz’d
“ Bactra, but also threatens us: besides the Sogdians,
“ the Dahæ, the Massagetæ, the Sacæ, and the
“ Indians, are yet unconquer’d. All these, as soon
“ as our backs are turn’d, will pursue us; for they
“ may be said to be of the same nation, but we are
“ strangers and foreigners. And it is observable, that
“ all nations more willingly obey their own sovereigns
“ tho’ their government be never so harsh. We must
“ therefore, soldiers, either resign what we have with
“ so much pain acquired, or subdue the rest. For
“ as physicians leave nothing in the bodies of their
“ patients that can endanger a relapse, so must we
“ lop off whatever can annoy or resist our empire.
“ A small spark neglected, has often been the cause
“ of great conflagrations. Nothing can safely be
“ despised in an enemy: whomsoever you contemn
“ becomes the stronger by your negligence. Darius
“ himself did not come to the Persian empire, by
“ right of hereditary succession, but got into Cyrus’s
“ throne, through the interest of Bagoas an eunuch;
“ that you may not think it so difficult a task for
“ Bessus to take possession of a vacant kingdom.
“ Surely, soldiers, we have committed a great fault,
“ if we conquer Darius to no other purpose, but to
“ deliver up his dominions to one of his slaves, who,
“ with the utmost audaciousness, kept his sovereign
“ in chains, at the time he stood in need even of so-
“ reign assistance, and when we, at least, that had
“ conquer’d him, would have shewn mercy to him;
“ and at last barbarously murder’d him, to rob us of
“ the glory of preserving him. Will you, after all
“ this, suffer such a wretch to reign? whom I long
“ to see nail’d to a cross, and by that ignominious
“ death make ample satisfaction to all kings and na-
“ tions, for his execrable treachery. But if, upon
“ ou

“ our return home, you should immediately hear
 “ that this villain was burning the Greek towns, and
 “ laying waste the Hellespont; how sensibly you’d
 “ be griev’d, that Bessus should run away with the
 “ reward of your victories! how quickly would
 “ you arm! what haste would you then make to re-
 “ cover your own! but is it not much better to sup-
 “ press him at once, while he is still full of appre-
 “ hension, and hardly in his senses? We have but
 “ four days march to come at him; we who have
 “ made our way through so many deep snows, pass’d
 “ so many rivers, and run over so many mountains:
 “ we shall meet with no sea to stop our march, nei-
 “ ther shall have the straits of Cilicia to obstruct our
 “ passage; all the way is plain and easy: we may be
 “ said to stand at the very door of victory; we have
 “ only a few fugitives to reduce, and ruffians, that
 “ have murder’d their own lord and master. It will be
 “ a glorious work, and will be transmitted to posterity
 “ among your most memorable achievements, that
 “ you were so far from suffering your hatred to Da-
 “ rius, who was your enemy, to continue after his
 “ death, that you even took satisfaction of his par-
 “ ricides, not suffering any wicked person to escape
 “ unpunished. This once done, how much more
 “ willingly will the Persians obey us, when they
 “ come to understand that you undertake pious wars,
 “ that not their nation, but the villainy of Bessus is
 “ the object of your anger.”



C H A P. IV.

THIS speech was receiv’d by the soldiers with
 all possible cheerfulness, and they desired him
 to lead them where-ever he thought fit. The king
 therefore

therefore laid hold of their present disposition, and passing thro' Parthiene, he came the third day to the borders of Hircania, where he left Craterus with the forces he commanded, and those that were under Amyntas, adding thereto six hundred horse, and as many archers, with orders to secure Parthiene from the incursions of the Barbarians. He gave to Erigyus the care of the baggage, appointing him a small body for that purpose, and commanded him to march along the plain country, while he himself with the phalanx and cavalry, having march'd a hundred and fifty furlongs, incamp'd in a valley, at the entrance into Hyrcania. Here there is a wood, the trees whereof are very tall, and stand thick, so that it is very shady, and the soil of the valley is very fat, being plentifully water'd by the streams that descend from the impending rocks. At the foot of these hills the river Zioberis rises, which for the space of three furlongs runs entire in one channel, and afterwards is divided by a rock, and so pursues two different courses, between which it dispenses all its waters. At some distance it unites again, and runs in a rapid stream like a torrent, and by reason of the rocks through which it passes, becomes more violent, and then precipitates itself under ground, pursuing its subterranean course for the space of three hundred furlongs, and then rises again as from a new spring, and cuts itself a new channel much larger than its first, it being thirteen furlongs in breadth : after which, contracting itself again, it runs between straiter banks, and at last falls into another river called Rhidagus. The inhabitants affirm, that whatever is cast into the cave nearest its source, and where it first hides itself under ground, comes out at the other mouth, where the river opens itself, when it appears again. Alexander therefore caus'd two bulls to be cast into it where the waters enters the earth, whose bodies were afterwards

wards seen, where the river breaks out again, by those who were sent to examine into that matter. In this place Alexander had rested his army four days, when he received letters from Nabarzanes (who had conspir'd with Bessus against Darius) to this effect ;
“ That he had never been Darius's enemy ; that on
“ the contrary, he had always advis'd him to what
“ he thought most conducing to his advantage and
“ interest ; for which faithful counsel he had like to
“ have been killed by him. That Darius entertain'd
“ some thoughts of committing the guard of his per-
“ son to foreigners, which was not only against all
“ law and reason, but a great reflection on his sub-
“ jects fidelity, which they had preserv'd inviolate to
“ their kings, for the space of two hundred and
“ thirty years : that finding himself in so doubtful
“ and dangerous a condition, he had took that coun-
“ sel which the present necessity of his circumstances
“ had suggested to him. That Darius having killed
“ Bagoas, had satisfy'd his people with no other ex-
“ cuse, than that he had kill'd a man who was plot-
“ ting and contriving his death. There is nothing
“ so dear to wretched mortals as life, out of love to
“ which, he had been driven to the last extremities ;
“ but however, he had been forced thereto by irre-
“ sistible necessity, it being far from his own inclina-
“ tion and choice : that in general calamities, every
“ one is apt to consult his own interest and welfare :
“ however, if he thought fit to command him to
“ come to him, he would readily obey him without
“ the least apprehension or fear ; for he could not
“ suppose that so great a king would violate his pro-
“ mise, it not being usual for the gods to deceive one
“ another. That if he did not think him worthy
“ the honour of his royal word, there were places
“ enough where he could be safe, and that all coun-
“ tries were alike to a brave man.

Hereupon

Hereupon Alexander made no difficulty to give him his royal security (after the manner the Persians are us'd to receive the same) "that if he came, he should not be injur'd." Notwithstanding which, he march'd his army in order of battle, sending scouts before him, to discover the places he was to pass through. The light-arm'd troops compos'd the van, then follow'd the phalanx, and the baggage came in the rear of that. As they were a warlike nation, and the situation of the country was such as render'd it of difficult access, the king thought it proper to be the more circumspect and wary in his march: for the valley extends itself as far as the Caspian sea, and seems to stretch itself out in two arms, the middle whereof strikes into a hollow, so that it resembles the horns of the moon, before that planet fills up its orb. On the left are the Cercetae, the Mosyni, and Chalybes, and on the other side are the Leucosyri, and the plains of the Amazons; it has those to the northward, and these to the westward. The Caspian sea-water not being so brackish as that of others, feeds serpents of a prodigious bigness, and fish of a quite different colour from those of other seas. Some call it the Caspian, and others the Hyrcanian sea. Some say, that the Palus Mæotis falls into it, and to prove it, say, that it is by this mixture that the waters of this sea are not so salt as those of other seas. When the north wind blows, it swells the sea, and forces it violently on the shore, carrying its waves a great way into the country, where it stagnates for some time, till the heavens changing their aspect, these waters return to the sea again with the same impetuosity they first broke their bounds, and so restore the land to its own nature. Some have been of opinion, that these waters do not come from the Caspian sea, but do fall from India into Hyrcania, whose lofty situation (as we said before) by degrees

grees sinks into this perpetual vale. From whence the king march'd twenty furlongs by a way almost impassable, having a wood hanging over it ; besides which difficulties, the torrents and standing waters obstructed his passage, but as no enemy appeared, he made a shift to get through it ; and at last marching farther on, he came into a better country, which besides other provisions with which it abounded, there was great plenty of apples, and the soil was very proper for vines. There is also a kind of tree that is very common here, and very much resembles an oak, whose leaves are in the night much ting'd with honey, but unless the inhabitants gather it before the sun rises, the least heat thereof consumes it.

The king having march'd thirty furlongs farther, was met by Phrataphernes, who surrender'd himself to him, and all those who had fled with him, after Darius's death. Alexander received him graciously, and afterwards arrived at a town call'd Arvæ. Here Craterus and Erygius join'd him, bringing along with them Phradates, who had the government of the Tapurians. The king's taking him also into his protection, was an example to a great many others, to trust themselves to his clemency. He afterwards appointed Menapis governor of Hyrcania, who had in Ochus's reign, taken refuge with king Philip. He likewise restor'd to Phradates the government of the Tapurian nation,



C H A P. V.

ALEXANDER was now come to the utmost bounds of Hyrcania, when Artabazus (who, as we before took notice, had always firmly adher'd to Darius) came to him with Darius's relations, his own children, and a body of Greek soldiers. The king immediately offer'd him his right-hand, for he had been formerly entertain'd by Philip, when in Oechus's reign, he had been forc'd to fly from his country. But the chief cause of his receiving him so kindly, was his firm adherence to his prince's interest to the last. Finding himself therefore so graciously receiv'd, he address'd himself to the king in these words: " Long
" may you reign in perpetual felicity. As for my own
" part, I am sufficiently happy on all other accounts:
" I have but one grievance, and that is, that my ad-
" vanc'd age will not permit me to enjoy your good-
" ness long." He was in the ninety fifth year of his age, and was accompany'd by his nine sons which he had all of one woman: these he also presented to the king, and wish'd they might live so long, as they might be serviceable to his majesty.

Alexander for the most part walk'd on foot, but then he order'd horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, lest if he walk'd himself on foot, the old man should be asham'd to ride. Afterwards having pitch'd his camp, he order'd the Greeks who came along with Artabazus, to be brought before him. But they made answer, " that unless he took the
" Lacedemonians also into his protection, they would
" deliberate amongst themselves what measures they
" should take." They were ambassadors from the
Lacede-

Lacedemonians to Darius, who being overcome, they join'd those Greeks that were in the Persian service. But Alexander, without giving them any promise or security, commanded them "to come immediately" and submit to what he should allot them." They demurr'd upon the matter some time, being of different opinions; however, at last they promis'd to come. But Democrates the Athenian, being conscious to himself, that he had always oppos'd as much as he could the Macedonians prosperity, despairing of pardon, run himself through with his sword, the rest according to their agreement surrender'd themselves to Alexander. They were fifteen hundred soldiers of them, besides fourscore and ten, who had been sent ambassadors to Darius. The greatest part of the soldiers were distributed among the troops by way of recruit, and the rest were sent home. As for the Lacedemonians, he commanded them to be kept in custody. The Mardians are a nation bordering upon Hyrcania, a hardy people, and accustomed to live by robbery. They alone neither sent ambassadors to Alexander, nor gave the least token to imagine, they would obey his orders. This rais'd his indignation, that a single nation should hinder him from being thought invincible. Leaving therefore his baggage under a sufficient guard, he advanc'd towards them with his light arm'd troops. He had march'd all the night, and by break of day the enemy appear'd in sight: But it was rather a tumultuous alarm than a fight; for the Barbarians were soon driven from the eminences they possess'd, and put to flight, and the neighbouring villages being deserted by the inhabitants, were plunder'd by the Macedonians. But the army could not penetrate into the more inward parts of the country, without being much harass'd and fatigu'd. The tops of the hills are encompass'd with high woods, and impassable rocks, and the Barbarians had secur'd,
by

by a new kind of fortification, what was plain and open. The trees are set thick on purpose, then they with their hands bend the tender branches downwards, and having twisted them together, they set them in the ground again, where taking root, they put out fresh branches, which they do not suffer to grow according to the appointment of nature; but they so intermixt them, that when they are cloath'd with leaves, they in a manner hide the ground. Thus the way was perplex'd with one continu'd hedge, by the means of these interwoven boughs, which like so many snares caught hold of those that pass'd thro' them. In this case there was no remedy but cutting down the woods: but this again was a very laborious task; for the bodies of the trees were full of knots, which made them very hard to cut; and the implicated boughs, like so many suspended circles, by their tender pliantness gave way, and baulk'd the force of the stroke; on the other side the inhabitants are so habituated to run like wild beasts among these coverts, that on this occasion they enter'd the wood, and gall'd the enemy with their darts. Alexander was therefore oblig'd (after the manner of hunters) first to find out their haunts, by which means he destroy'd a great many of them, and at last order'd his army "to surround the wood, and if they found any entrance, "to break through the same." But as they were altogether ignorant of the country, they wander'd up and down like men lost, and some of them were taken by the enemy, and with them the king's horse Bucephalus, which he did not value after the rate of other cattle, for he would suffer no body but Alexander to mount him, and whenever he had a mind to get upon him, he would kneel down and receive him on his back, as if he was sensible who it was he carry'd. The king therefore being transported with anger and grief.

grief, even beyond what was decent, order'd his horse to be sought after, and gave the Barbarians to understand by an interpreter, " that if they did not restore him, not one of them should escape alive." This declaration so terrify'd them, that they not only restor'd the horse, but made him also other presents. However, this did not appease the king's anger, so that he commanded " the woods to be cut down, and " caus'd earth to be brought from the mountains to " fill up the hollow part of the intricate covert." The work was pretty well advanc'd, when the Barbarians despairing of their being able to defend the country, surrender'd themselves to the king, who receiving hostages from them, appointed Phradates to be their governour, and on the fifth day return'd from thence to his camp, where having confer'd on Artabazus double the honour Darius had bestow'd on him, he sent him home.

'Then he continu'd his march to the city of Hyrcania, in which Darius had a palace, where he was no sooner arriv'd than Nabarzanes yielded himself to the king upon his parole, making him at the same time very noble presents; among the rest was Bagcas, an eunuch, who was in the flower of his youth, and had been familiarly us'd by Darius formerly, and soon after by Alexander; it was chiefly at this eunuch's intreaty that he pardon'd Nabarzanes.

The nation of the Amazons (as we said before) bordered upon Hyrcania, and inhabited the plains of Themiscyra, along the river Thermodon. Thalestris was the name of their queen, who had in her subjection all the country that lies between mount Caucasus, and the river Phasis. This queen was come out of her dominions, inflam'd with a desire to see Alexander; and being advanc'd pretty near the place where he was, she sent messengers before to acquaint him, " that

“ that a queen was coming to have the satisfaction of
“ seeing and conversing with him : ” having obtained admittance, she commanded the rest of her followers to stay behind, and taking with her three hundred of her female militants, she advanc’d. As soon as she came within sight of the king, she leap’d from her horse, holding two javelins in her right hand. The Amazons apparel does not cover all their bodies, for their left side is naked down to the stomach, nor do the skirts of their garments (which they tie up in a knot) reach below their knees. They preserve their left breast intire that they may be able to suckle their female off-spring, and they cut off and sear their right, that they may draw their bows, and cast their darts with the greater ease. Thalestris look’d at the king with an undaunted countenance, and narrowly view’d his person, which did not come up to the fame of his great exploits ; for the Barbarians have a great veneration for a majestical presence, esteeming them only capable of performing great actions, whom nature has favour’d with an extraordinary personage. Being ask’d by the king, “ Whether she had any thing to
“ desire of him ? she did not boggle to tell him, that
“ her errand was to have children by him, she being
“ worthy to bring him heirs to his dominions ; as for
“ the female sex, she would retain that herself, and
“ restore the male to the father.” Hereupon Alexander ask’d her, “ If she would accompany him in his
“ wars ? ” To which she excus’d herself, “ with her
“ having left no body to take care of her kingdom.” Adding that she desir’d he would not let her depart disappointed. Her passion being greater than the king’s, oblig’d him to stay here a little while, so that he entertain’d her thirteen days to gratify her desire ; after which she return’d to her kingdom, and the king march’d into Parthiene.

C.H A P.



C H A P. VI.

HERE he gave a loose to all his passions, and laying aside his continency and moderation (which are eminent virtues in an exalted fortune) deliver'd himself up to voluptuousness and pride. He now look'd upon the manners, dress, and wholesome discipline of the kings of Macedon beneath his grandeur, and therefore emulated the Persian pomp, which seem'd to vie with the majesty of the gods themselves. He began to suffer the conquered of so many nations to prostrate themselves on the ground, and worship him, and hop'd by degrees to enure them to servile offices, and make them like slaves. He wore about his head a purple diadem, intermix'd with white, and took the Persian habit, without fearing the omen of passing out of the dress and distinguishing tokens of the conqueror, into those of the conquer'd; he himself indeed did say that he only wore the spoils of the Persians; but he at the same time put on their manners also; for the outward magnificence of apparel was follow'd by an inward insolence of mind. And notwithstanding he still seal'd those letters he sent into Europe with his usual seal, yet he affix'd that of Darius to all those he sent into Asia; from whence it appear'd that the fortune of two is too great for the head of one man: he oblig'd also his friends, his captains and chief officers of his army to dress after the Persian manner; and tho' within themselves they despis'd the same, yet they did not dare to refuse complying, for fear of incurring his displeasure. The same number of concu-

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bines that Darius had, (viz. three hundred and sixty) fill'd the royal palace, and these were attended by crowds of eunuchs, who were themselves accustom'd to supply the place of women. The old soldiers who had serv'd under Philip, publickly detested this luxury, and foreign excesses, as being altogether strangers to such voluptuousness, insomuch that it was the general talk throughout the camp, " That more was
" lost by the victory than gain'd by the war, since
" they might properly be said to be conquer'd them-
" selves, when they were thus enslav'd to foreign
" customs and manners; and, in fine, all the reward
" they were like to receive for their long absence
" from their native country, was to return home in
" captive habits: that it was high time for them to
" be ashamed of themselves, when they saw their
" king affect to resemble rather the conquer'd than
" the conquerors, and of king of Macedonia become
" one of Darius's satraps.

As Alexander was not ignorant that his behaviour displeas'd his chiefest and best friends, as well as his army in general, he endeavour'd to recover their affection by his liberality and bounty, but the rewards of servitude are always disagreeable to free and noble souls; that therefore the discontent might not break out into sedition, he thought it adviseable to put an end to these effects of idleness by the toils of wars.

On which an occasion seasonably offer'd its self; for Bessus had now assum'd the royal robes, order'd himself to be call'd Artaxerxes, and was gathering together the Scythians, and the other inhabitants along the Tanais. Satibarzanes was the person that gave him this account, whom he had taken into his protection, confirming to him the government he held before. But finding his army heavy laden with rich spoils, and the parade of luxury, which was a great hindrance

hindrance to their expedition in their movements,
“ He first order’d his own baggage to be brought in-
“ to the middle of the plain, and then that of all the
“ rest of the army, excepting only what was abso-
“ lutely necessary.” The plain into which the laden
carriages were brought, was very spacious and large :
every one now impatiently expected what would be
his next command, when he order’d the cattle to be
taken away, and then setting fire to his own baggage,
“ he commanded the rest to do the like to theirs.”
It was a great mortification to set fire themselves to
those things they had so often rescu’d from the flames
the enemy had kindled to destroy them ; yet no body
dar’d to lament the loss of the reward of his blood,
seeing the king’s furniture underwent the same fate.
This done, Alexander made a short speech to them
which alleviated their grief, and they were now pleas’d
to find themselves more fit for the service of the war,
and more ready upon all occasions, rejoicing, “ That
“ by the loss of their baggage, they had preserv’d
“ their discipline.” They therefore began their
march towards Bactra ; but Nicanor, Parmenio’s son,
being snatch’d away by sudden death, was a great
affliction to the whole army. The king was more
griev’d thereat than any body, and would fain have
stopt there some time, that he might be present at the
funeral himself, but the scarcity of provisions oblig’d
him to hasten his march ; leaving therefore Philotas
with two thousand six hundred men to perform the
funeral rites to his brother, he with the rest of the ar-
my advanc’d towards Bessus. As he was upon his
march, he receiv’d advice from the neighbouring
Satraps, that Bessus was advancing towards him with
an army in a hostile manner ; and that Satibarzanes,
whom he had lately confirm’d in his government over
the Arians, was also revolted from him.

Hereupon, notwithstanding he was intent upon Bessus, yet judging it more advisable to suppress Satibarzanes first, he took with him the light-arm'd foot, and the cavalry, and marching with the utmost diligence all the night, he came unexpectedly upon him. Satibarzanes being inform'd of his arrival, took along with him two thousand horse (for a great number could not be got together in the hurry and confusion he was in) and fled to Bactra; the rest of his party sav'd themselves in the neighbouring mountains. There was a rock which towards the west was very steep, but to the eastward was of a more easy and gentle descent, being cover'd with wood, and having a fountain from whence the water ran in great abundance; it was two and thirty furlongs in circumference, the top of it was a green plain. Here they plac'd the useless multitude, while they employ'd themselves in casting flocks of trees and great stones upon the enemy. They were about thirteen thousand men in arms.

Alexander having left Craterus to continue the siege of the rock, made all the haste he could to overtake Satibarzanes; but understanding he had gain'd too much ground of him, he return'd to the siege of those who had posted themselves on the mountains. At his arrival he commanded the army "to clear that part of the way to the rock, "which was any wise practicable;" but when this was done, impassable rocks and precipices presented themselves afresh, so that their labour seem'd to be lost, where nature itself oppos'd the undertaking: however, as his mind was fram'd to struggle with the greatest difficulties, finding it was impossible to advance, and dangerous to retire back; he apply'd his thought to all manner of contrivances, and he no sooner reject'd one, but his mind suggest'd him another,

ther, as is usual when we reject the thoughts which occur to us first. As he was still labouring to find out an expedient for his purpose, nature supply'd the deficiency of reason. The wind was westward, and blew very fresh, and the soldiers had cut down a great deal of wood, thereby to open themselves a passage through the rocks, and the vehement heat of the sun had dry'd the wood. Alexander therefore caus'd a great pile to be made that the fire might not want fuel to nourish it; at last so many trees were heap'd upon one another that they equall'd in height the top of the mountain; then he order'd this huge pile to be set on fire on all sides: the wind carry'd the flame into the enemies faces, and the smoke, like a black cloud, darken'd the very skies; the woods rung with the crackling caus'd by the flames, which were now no longer confin'd to the soldiers pile, but communicated themselves to the next growing trees. The Barbarians, to avoid the greatest of torments, endeavour'd to make their escape through any part of the wood that was not yet on fire; but where the flame yet granted them a passage the enemy was ready to receive them, so that there was a horrible kind of variety in their manner of perishing: some cast themselves into the middle of the flames, and some flung themselves headlong on the rocks, while others exposed themselves to the fury of the soldiers; a few that were half consum'd with fire, were taken prisoners.

From hence Alexander return'd to Craterus, who was at present besieging Artacacna; he had prepar'd every thing for the king's arrival, and waited only for his coming, to resign to him (as decency requir'd) the honour of taking the town. Alexander therefore order'd the towers to be advanced to the walls of the place, at the sight whereof the Barbarians were

seiz'd with such a consternation, that extending their hands upon the walls in a suppliant manner, they intreated " him to turn his anger upon Satibarzanes, " the author of the revolt, and grant them his pardon, who laid themselves at his mercy." Hereupon the king not only pardon'd them, but rais'd the siege, and restor'd to the inhabitants all that belong'd to them. Upon his leaving this place, he was met by a fresh supply of recruits : Zoilus had brought with him out of Greece five hundred horse, and Antipater had sent three thousand more from Illyricum : Philip had likewise with him one hundred and thirty Thessalian troopers ; there came also from Lydia two thousand six hundred foot and three hundred horse of the same nation. Being reinforc'd with these troops he advanc'd into the country of the Drangæ, who are a warlike nation, and were at this time under the government of Barzaentes, who was concern'd with Bessus in the treason against Darius. This traitor, to avoid the punishment due to his crime, was fled to India.



C H A P. VII.

H E R E the king had encamp'd during nine days, and altho' he was a prince of undaunted resolution, and had shewn himself invincible, yet he had like to have been taken off by domestic treason.

Dyinnus was a man who had none of the greatest interest at court, and entertain'd at this time an unwarrantable

warrantable passion for a discarded Catamite called Nichomachus, being entirely subdu'd thereby, thinking he engross'd him to himself; coming therefore to the youth at a certain time like one astonish'd (as might be perceiv'd by his countenance) he took him privately into a temple, and told him, "He had secrets of the greatest importance to impart to him;" and as the Catamite was very attentive to what he said, Dymnus conjur'd him "by their mutual love, "and the pledges they had given each other thereof, "to give him the sanction of a solemn oath, that he "would never reveal what he should impart to him." Nicomachus thinking he could communicate nothing to him which he should be obliged to disclose, tho' he could not do it without being guilty of perjury, "swore by the gods there present, that he would "not." Upon this assurance Dymnus told him, "There was a conspiracy against the king which "would be put in execution in three days, and that "he himself was concern'd therein, with several "other brave men of the first rank." The young man had no sooner heard this than he let him understand, "He had not given his faith to conceal so "black a treason, and that no religion could bind "him to secrecy in a crime of that nature." Hereupon Dymnus was in a manner distracted between love and fear, and taking the Catamite by the hand, with tears in his eyes, first intreated him "to be concerned in the enterprize, or if he could not do that, "at least that he would not betray him, of whose affection, among other instances, he had this strong "proof that he entrusted him with his life, even "before he had experienc'd his fidelity."

The youth persisting in an obstinate abhorrence of the design, Dymnus threaten'd to kill him, telling him, "The conspirators would begin their glorious

“ undertaking with his death ;” sometimes he call’d him “ effeminate coward, and sometimes betrayer
“ of his lover.” Then he try’d to move him by large promises, even that of a kingdom ; but finding him no way to be prevail’d upon, he drew his sword, and put it sometimes to his throat, and sometimes to his own, so that at last, what with threats, and what with intreaty, he brought him “ to promise not only
“ to keep the secret, but also to be concern’d in the
“ execution thereof :” notwithstanding which, his mind adhered firmly to his first resolution, shewing himself thereby worthy to have been virtuous and chaste. However, he feign’d himself “ so enslav’d by his
“ love for Dymnus, that he could refuse him no-
“ thing ;” and then desir’d to know, “ who were
“ his partners in this undertaking,” for he said, “ it
“ was of the greatest importance with whom he en-
“ bark’d in a design so great.

Dymnus, who was infatuated with his passion and crime, return’d him thanks, and at the same time congratulated him, “ That being himself a brave youth,
“ he did not scruple to associate himself with Deme-
“ trius, one of the king’s guards, Peucolaus, and
“ Nicanor ; he added to these Aphæbetus, Loccus,
“ Dioxenus, Archepolis, and Amyntas.” Nicomachus, after this (being dismiss’d by him) immediately repair’d to his brother Cebalinus, and imparted to him what he had heard. It was agreed between them, “ that the informer should remain in
“ the tent, for fear if he should be seen in the king’s
“ apartment, not being us’d to have admittance
“ there, the conspirators should conclude they were
“ betray’d.” Cebalinus himself waited without the porch (not being allowed a nearer access) expecting the coming in or out of some of those who were familiar with the king, to introduce him to his Ma-
jesty.

jeſty.” It happen’d that Philotas, Parmenio’s ſon, upon ſome unknown account, remain’d laſt with the king ; Cebalinus therefore, (at his coming out) with all the outward marks of grief and diſturbance, communicated to him what his brother had told him, and begg’d of him “ to acquaint the king therewith as “ ſoon as poſſible.” Philotas commending his fidelity, immediately went back to the king, and having diſcourſ’d with him on ſeveral other things, did not ſo much as mention what Cebalinus had inform’d him of. At night as Philotas was coming out of the palace, the young man, who waited for him in the porch, aſk’d him, “ Whether he had acquitted him- “ ſelf of his promiſe, in reference to what he had “ intruſted him with.” Philotas excus’d himſelf to him, and told him that the king was ſo taken up with other affairs that he had not an opportunity to do it. Cebalinus therefore attended again the next day, and as Philotas was going to the king, “ he put “ him in mind of what he had told him the day before,” and Philotas promis’d him aſreſh “ to take “ care of it ;” however, he did not then neither acquaint the king therewith. Cebalinus hereupon began to diſtruſt him, and thinking it to no purpoſe to trouble him any farther, he addreſs’d himſelf to Metron, a noble youth, maſter of the king’s armory, and imparted to him what he had told Philotas. Metron immediately hid Cebalinus in the armory, and repair’d to the king (who was then bathing himſelf) and “ inform’d him of what he had heard.” The king preſently ſent guards to ſeize Dymnus, and then came into the armory, whom as ſoon as Cebalinus ſaw, tranſported with joy he cry’d out, “ Oh ! “ how do I rejoice to find your Maſteſty reſcued out “ of the hands of impious murderers.” Alexander having particularly enquir’d into the whole matter, aſk’d Cebalinus, “ How long it was ſince Nicoma-

“ chus had given him this information ?” To which he answer’d, “ That it was now the third day.” Alexander concluding, that he could not conceal it so long without being guilty himself, commanded him to be put in irons ; but Cebalinus declaring loudly, “ That the moment he heard of it, he run away to Philotas and acquainted him with it, of which his Majesty might be satisfy’d if he ask’d Philotas himself :” The king farther inquir’d, “ Whether he had press’d Philotas to impart it to him ?” Which Cebalinus affirming to have done, Alexander lifting his hands to heaven, with tears in his eyes complain’d highly “ of the ingratitude of the person whom he had honour’d with the first place in his friendship.”

In the mean time Dymnus, who was not ignorant on what account he was sent for by the king, wounded himself grievously with his sword, but being hinder’d by the guards from killing himself outright, they brought him to the palace, where the king fixing his eyes upon him, said to him, “ What great mischief have I done to thee, Dymnus, that Philotas should seem to thee worthier of the kingdom of Macedon than myself ?” Dymnus’s speech now fail’d him, so that giving a great groan, and turning his face from the king, he fell down dead.

The king afterwards sent for Philotas, who being come, he said to him, “ That Cebalinus, who would have deserv’d the worst of punishments if he should have conceal’d two days together the knowledge of a conspiracy against my life, casts the blame upon Philotas, to whom, he says, he immediately gave an account thereof: the easy access you have to my person aggravates your guilt in not mentioning of it ; and I must own, it would have better become Cebalinus than you to have been so negligent in a matter of that consequence. You have a favourable judge, if you can at least deny

“ what

“ what you ought not to have committed.” To this Philotas, without the least sign of fear, as far as could be perceiv’d by his countenance, reply’d, “ That it was true Cebalinus had acquainted him “ with the regardless information of a sorry Catamite, “ which the inconsiderableness of the author made “ him think that he should only expose himself to “ the laughter of others by informing his Majesty of “ a quarrel betwixt a superannuated Catamite and “ his lover. However, since Dymnus had kill’d “ himself, how groundless soever the account might “ be, he own’d it ought not to have been conceal’d ; “ then embracing the king, he begg’d of him to “ have a greater regard to his past life, than to a “ fault which consisted only in silence, and not in “ any matter of fact.” I cannot determine whether the king really credited what he said, or only suppress’d his anger the deeper ; but it is certain he gave him his right hand, as a pledge of his being reconcil’d to him, and told him, “ He look’d upon him “ rather to have despis’d the information that conceal’d it.”



C H A P. VIII.

THIS did not however hinder the king from calling a council of his friends, to which Philotas was not summon’d, and Nicomachus was brought before them. Here he related all that he had told the king. Craterus was of the number of those the king had the greatest esteem for, and on that account, somewhat jealous of Philotas’s interest. Moreover, he was not insensible, that Philotas had often tir’d the king’s ears with extravagant exaggerations of his bra-
P 6 very

very and service, who tho' he did not on that score suspect him to be evilly dispos'd, yet he thought him a little too arrogant. Craterus therefore thinking he could not have a more favourable opportunity to crush his rival, covering his hatred with the specious appearance of zeal and loyalty, said, " I wish, Sir, " you had deliberated with us at first, concerning this " affair ; we had then endeavour'd to persuade you " (if you were resolv'd to pardon Philotas) to have let " him remain'd in ignorance, how much he was in- " debted to you, rather than (having brought him in " fear of his life) force him to make deeper reflecti- " ons on his own danger, than on your goodness. " For he may always have it in his power to conspire " against you, though you may not always be able " to pardon him. Do not imagine, that he who " dar'd to undertake so foul a crime, can be alter'd " in his disposition by a pardon : he knows very well, " that they who by unpardonable faults have exhaust- " ed your mercy, have no room left to hope for it " any more. And admitting he may be alter'd by " repentance, or overcome by your clemency ; yet " I am sure his father Parmenio, who has the com- " mand of so great an army, and is in so confirm'd " a credit with the soldiers ; in fine, who in point of " authority with them, is little inferior to your self, " will not be very well pleas'd to stand indebted to " you for the life of his son. There are some kind- " nesses which we hate ; a man is always asham'd to " confess he has deserv'd death. He would there- " fore rather have the world think you have done him " an injury, than given him his life. From whence " I infer, that you will be forc'd to contend with " them for your safety. There are still enemies " now that we are going to encounter with ; secure " therefore your person against domestick treasons : " these once remov'd, I fear no foreign evil." This

was Craterus's sentiment. The rest also were of opinion, " he would never have stifled a discovery of
" that moment, unless he were either principal in the
" conspiracy or an accomplice : For, said they, who
" that had the least spark of loyalty and good affection (though he were not of the band of your
" friends, as Philotas was, but of the dregs of the
" people) having heard what he had been told, would
" not have presently run to the king and acquainted
" him therewith ? but he who was Parmenio's son,
" general of the horse, and privy to the king's most
" secret affairs, could not so much as imitate Cebalinus's example, who the moment he was inform'd by
" his brother of the danger, came and declar'd the
" same to him ; nay, he was so far from detecting
" the mischief himself, that he pretended the king
" was not at leisure to hear his information, for fear
" the informer should address himself to somebody
" else, and so the villany might come to light. Nicomachus, notwithstanding his oath to the gods,
" made all the haste he could to discharge his conscience ; but Philotas having pass'd the best part of
" the day in merriment with the king, could not find
" in his heart to add, to his other long and perhaps
" superfluous discourses, a few words of the greatest
" moment and importance to the king's safety. But
" admit, say they, that he did not give credit to the
" report, on the account of the youth of the informers, what then made him keep them in suspense for two days, as if he had believ'd it ? certainly he ought to have dismiss'd Cebalinus, if he
" slighted his information. Every man in his own
" private peril, may rely upon his bravery and courage, but where the king's safety is in danger, we
" ought there to be credulous, and not despise even
" false discoveries." They all therefore agreed, he
ought to be compell'd by torture to declare his confederates.

federates. The king having commanded them not to divulge the matter, dismiss'd them. And that he might not give the least suspicion of his new measures, he gave publick notice, that the army should decamp the next day. He also invited Philotas to his last supper, and vouchsaf'd not only to eat, but also to converse familiarly with him he had already condemned.

At the second watch, Hephæstion, Craterus, Cœnus and Erigyius, of the band of his friends, and Perdicas and Leonatus his esquires, attended by a few others, enter'd the palace without lights, and presently gave orders to the guards, to be arm'd all the time they were upon duty. Soldiers were now planted at all the avenues, and some horse were order'd to guard the roads, that no body might escape to Parmenio, who was then governour of Media, and had the command of a great army. Attarras at this time enter'd the palace with three hundred arm'd men, unto whom were appointed ten of those that had the guard of the king's person, who were every one follow'd by ten of those call'd men at arms. These were sent to seize the other conspirators, and Attarras going with three hundred men to take Philotas, made choice of fifty of the most resolute amongst them, and broke open his door, having plac'd the rest round the house, to prevent his making his escape. But Philotas was in a profound sleep, either from the consciousness of his innocence, or from some fatigue, so that Attarras seiz'd him in that condition. Being now awak'd, as they were putting him in chains, he cry'd out, "The
" bitterness of my enemies malice, O king, has over-
" come thy goodness." Having utter'd these words, they cover'd his head, and brought him to the palace. The next day the king commanded the Macedonians to appear at the palace with their arms: they amounted to about six thousand men, besides a crowd of rabble and camp followers. The men at arms conceal'd
Philotas

Philotas amongst their body, that he might not be seen publickly, till the king had spoke to the soldiers; it being an ancient custom with the Macedonians, for the army to judge of capital crimes in time of war, and the people in time of peace, so that the king's power signified nothing unless his authority had influenced them to acquiesce in his opinion; therefore Dymnus his body was first brought before them, the major part being ignorant what was his crime, or how he came to be kill'd.



C H A P. IX.

THIS being done, the king came out to the army, carrying in his countenance all the tokens of an afflicted mind; the general sadness of all his friends at the same time; gave them no small expectation of the event. The king remain'd some time with his eyes fix'd on the ground, as if he was astonish'd and dismay'd: at last recovering his spirits, he express'd himself thus: " I had like, soldiers, to
" have been snatch'd from you by the wicked con-
" trivance of a few persons. It is by the providence
" and mercy of the gods; that I am now alive. Your
" venerable aspect inflames my anger still the more,
" against the execrable parricides; for the greatest,
" nay, the only advantage I propose to my self from
" life, is, that I am able to requite the services of so
" many gallant men, who have deserv'd so well of
" me." Here he was interrupted by the soldiers lamentations, and every body's eyes were now fill'd with tears. Then continuing his speech, he said,
" If

“ If what I have already told you, raises such emo-
“ tions in you, how much greater shall I excite,
“ when I shew you the authors of this horrible de-
“ sign? I tremble at the mentioning of them, and as
“ if it were still possible to save them, I am unwill-
“ ing to declare their names. However, I must over-
“ come my former friendship for them, and let you
“ know who these impious wretches are: for which
“ way can I conceal so abominable a crime? Know
“ then, soldiers, that Parmenio in his advanc’d age,
“ loaded with my father’s and my favours, and the
“ most ancient of all our friends, is the chief leader
“ in this detestable enterprize, and Philotas has been
“ his instrument to corrupt Peucolaus, Demetrius,
“ and Dymnus (whose body lies there before you)
“ and several others equally mad, to be partners with
“ him in taking away my life.” At these words the
whole camp was in an uproar, complaining with the
utmost indignation against the detestable plot, after the
manner of a multitude, especially of a military one
when they are either mov’d by affection or anger.
Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus were pro-
duc’d, and each declar’d to the army their respective
informations. But not one of them in his evidence,
charg’d Philotas to have any hand in the conspiracy;
so that the anger of the assembly being appeas’d, they
remain’d silent after the informers declaration. But
the king immediately ask’d them, “ What his design
“ could be, who could suppress an information of
“ this nature? that it was not ill-grounded, appear’d
“ sufficiently from Dymnus’s killing himself: and
“ Cebalinus, as uncertain as he was of the truth of
“ the matter, did not refuse being tortur’d, to verify
“ he had receiv’d such an account from his brother;
“ and Metron did not delay one moment to discharge
“ himself of the trust repos’d in him, inasmuch that
“ he

“ he broke into the place where I was bathing. Phi-
“ lotas was the only person amongst them all that
“ fear’d nothing, nor believ’d any thing. What a
“ hero is this ! had he been touch’d with the danger
“ of his sovereign, would he have heard it unmov’d,
“ without the least token of concern ? would he not
“ have lent an attentive ear to an accusation of that
“ importance ? the matter is this, his crime lay lurk-
“ ing under his silence, and the greedy hopes of a
“ kingdom, drove him headlong on the worst of vil-
“ lanies. His father commands in Media, and he
“ himself is in that powerful station with me, that re-
“ lying on his interest with my officers, he aspir’d to
“ greater things than he was capable of. I suppose
“ my having no issue, made him despise me. But
“ Philotas is mistaken, for you your selves are my
“ children, parents, and relations : while you are
“ safe, I cannot be destitute of either.” After this,
he read to them an intercepted letter of Parmenio’s
to his sons Nicanor and Philotas, which certainly did
not contain in express terms any criminal matter : for
the substance of it was this : “ First take care of
“ your selves, and then of those under you : by these
“ means we shall compass our design.” Here the king
took notice, “ That he writ after this obscure
“ manner, that if it came safe to his sons, it might
“ be understood by the accomplices, and in case it
“ was intercepted, it might escape the ignorant.
“ But it may be objected, that Dymnus in his dis-
“ covery of the conspirators, made no mention of
“ Philotas : yet this it self, is not so much an argu-
“ ment of his innocency, as of his power ; for it
“ shews he was so much fear’d even by those who
“ might discover him, that at the same time they
“ confess themselves guilty, they do not so much as
“ dare to name him. However, Philotas’s life suf-
ficiently

“ ficiently detects him. For when Amyntas my
“ kinsman conspir’d against me in Macedonia, he
“ was not only privy to it, but also a confederate.
“ Moreover, he marry’d his sister to Attalus, than
“ whom I have not had a greater enemy : and when
“ I writ to him, out of familiarity and friendship, to
“ acquaint him with the report of the oracle of Ju-
“ piter Hammon, he made no scruple to return me
“ this answer, that he rejoic’d I was receiv’d into the
“ number of the gods, yet he could not but pity
“ those who were to live under a prince that exceed-
“ ed the condition of man. These are plain indica-
“ tions, that his mind has been long since alienated
“ from me, and that he envies my glory. Notwith-
“ standing all these provocations, soldiers, I smo-
“ thered my resentments in my heart as long as I
“ could. For I thought it was rending some part of
“ my bowels from me, to disregard those I had heap-
“ ed so many favours upon. But the case is alter’d,
“ it is no longer words we have to resent : the teme-
“ rity of the tongue has proceeded to the execution
“ of the sword, which, if you dare believe me, Phi-
“ lotas has been sharpening against me. If he has been
“ guilty of these things, whither shall I fly, soldiers?
“ whom shall I intrust with my life? I made him
“ general of my cavalry, which is the chiefest part
“ of my army, and plac’d him at the head of the
“ noblest youth. I committed to his custody my safe-
“ ty, hopes and victories. Besides all which, I have ad-
“ vanc’d his father to the same pitch of grandeur al-
“ most to which you have rais’d myself : I have
“ made him governor of Media, than which there is
“ not a richer country, and have intrusted him with
“ the command of so many thousands of our citi-
“ zens and associates. From whence I expected, upon
“ occasion, my chiefest support, soldiers, I have
“ found

“ found the greatest danger. How much happier had
“ I been, had I fallen in battle a prey to my enemies,
“ rather than the victim of a citizen ! But I have
“ escap’d those dangers which I only fear’d, and have
“ fallen into those I did not in the least suspect. You
“ have frequently exhorted me, soldiers, to take
“ care of my safety : it lies in your power now to
“ secure it ; whatever you advise me to I’ll do. It
“ is your hands and your arms I have recourse to for
“ my protection ; I would not be safe against your
“ wills, and if you desire I should, I cannot be
“ so unless you avenge me.”

Hereupon he order’d Philotas to be brought forth ; he had his hands ty’d behind him, and his head cover’d with an old veil. It was easily perceivable they were mov’d at so lamentable a disguise, tho’ heretofore they us’d to behold him with envy. They had seen him the day before, general of the horse, they knew he had supp’d with the king, and now on the sudden, they saw him not only accus’d, but condemn’d and bound. They also reflected on the hard fortune of Parmenio, who was not only a great captain, but an illustrious citizen, and had not only the misfortune to lose two of his sons lately, viz. Hector and Nicanor, but now stood accus’d in his absence, with the only son he had left.

Amyntas therefore perceiving the multitude inclin’d to pity, endeavour’d to exasperate them again, telling them, “ They were all betray’d to the Barba-
“ rians ; that none of them would return to their
“ wives, their country, or their friends : that they
“ should be like the body without a head, without
“ life or name, a mere sport in a strange country, to
“ their enemies.” This speech was not so acceptable to the king, as Amyntas expected ; because, by putting them in mind of their wives and country, it
could

cool'd their courage to future expeditions. Then Cænus, notwithstanding he had marry'd Philotas's sister, inveigh'd against him more than any body, and declar'd him to be "the parricide of his king, country, and of the whole army;" and taking up a stone that lay at his feet, was going to fling it at his head, desiring thereby, as some thought, to secure him from future torments; but the king laying hold of his hand, hinder'd him, telling him, "he ought to have the liberty to plead, without which he would not suffer him to be judg'd." Philotas being accordingly order'd to speak for himself, was so stupify'd, either from the guilt of his conscience, or the greatness of the danger he was in, that he could neither lift up his eyes, nor so much as utter the least syllable, but burst out into tears, and fainting away, fell into the arms of him that held him. Afterwards having recover'd his spirits and speech, he wip'd away his tears with his veil, and seem'd to prepare himself to speak. Then the king turning to him, said, "The Macedonians are to be your judges: I desire to know, whether you design to speak to them in your country language or not." To which Philotas reply'd, "There are a great many others here besides the Macedonians, who I believe will understand me better, if I use the same tongue you yourself spoke in, for no other reason, as I suppose, than that you might be understood by the greater number." The king then bid them take notice, "how he even hated his country's tongue, which no body disdain'd but himself. But let him use what language he pleases, so you do but remember that he equally abhors our manners and our speech." Which said, he withdrew.

C H A P.



C H A P. X.

THEN Philotas began : “ It is an easy matter
“ for the innocent to find words, but it is very
“ hard for a man in distress to be moderate therein.
“ So that between the innocence of my conscience,
“ and the severity of my fortune, I am at a stand
“ how to suit my discourse both to my mind and
“ circumstances. He that is my properest and best
“ judge, has withdrawn himself ; why he would not
“ hear what I had to say, I cannot imagine, since
“ after he had heard both parties, he had it still in
“ his power as we’ll to condemn as absolve me ;
“ whereas if he does not hear what I say in my de-
“ fence, I cannot hope to be discharg’d by him in
“ his absence, who condemn’d me while present.
“ But notwithstanding the defence of a man in chains,
“ is not only superfluous, but also odious, since it
“ does not so much inform, as seem to reprove his
“ judge : yet in what manner soever I am oblig’d
“ to speak, I shall not desert my own cause, neither
“ shall I give any body occasion to say, that I con-
“ demn’d my self. What my charge is I cannot tell,
“ not one of the conspirators so much as names me :
“ Nicomachus has given no information against me,
“ and Cebalinus could not know more than he had
“ been told. All which notwithstanding, the king
“ believes me to be the contriver and chief manager
“ of the conspiracy. Is it likely Dymnus would
“ not mention him, whose directions he fol-
“ low’d ? more especially when being ask’d, who
“ the

“ the confederates were, I ought (tho’ falsely) to
“ have been nam’d, for the greater encouragement
“ of him who was afraid. For having discover’d the
“ plot, it cannot be thought he omitted my name,
“ that he might spare an accomplice : for when
“ he confess’d the matter to Nicomachus, who he
“ thought would not divulge secrets relating to him-
“ self, he nam’d all the rest, without making the
“ least mention of me. Pray, brother soldiers, if
“ Cebalinus had not address’d himself to me, and
“ had no mind I should know any thing of the mat-
“ ter, should I to-day be making my defence, with-
“ out having been so much as nam’d by any of the
“ informers ? supposing Dymnus was still alive and
“ had a mind to save me ; what would the rest do ?
“ it is a very likely matter that those who will con-
“ fess their own guilt will conceal mine. Calamity is
“ spiteful, and most commonly he that suffers for
“ his own guilt, is well enough pleas’d that others
“ should share the same fate. Shall so many guilty
“ persons, even when put upon the rack, refuse to
“ tell the truth ? It is observ’d, that no body spares
“ him that is to die, and for my part, I believe he
“ that is to die, spares no body. I must therefore
“ come to my true charge, and the only thing I
“ can be charg’d with. Why did you then con-
“ ceal the treason ? why did you hear it without any
“ concern ? of what force soever this may be, you
“ pardon’t it, Alexander, upon my confession, where-
“ ever you are ; and having given me your right
“ hand, as a pledge of your reconciliation, I was one
“ of them that supp’d with you last night. If you
“ believ’d what I said, I am clear’d ; if you pardon’d
“ me, I am discharg’d. Stand at least to your own
“ judgment. What crime have I committed since last
“ night, that I left your table ? what new crime
“ have

“ have you been inform’d of, to make you alter your
“ mind ? I was in a profound sleep, not dreaming
“ of my misfortunes, when my enemies, by their
“ binding of me, wak’d me. How came it to pass,
“ pray, that a parricide and a traitor slept so quietly ?
“ for a guilty conscience will not suffer its wicked
“ owners to be at rest. The furies distract their
“ minds, not only while they are contriving the par-
“ ricide, but even after they have put it in execution.
“ My security was grounded, first upon my innocen-
“ cy, and next on your right hand. I was not afraid
“ other peoples cruelty should have more power with
“ you, than your own clemency. However, that
“ you may have no reason to repent you believ’d me,
“ do but reflect that the information was brought to
“ me by a youth, who could bring no witness, nor
“ security of the truth of what he said, and yet would
“ have fill’d the palace with apprehensions had he
“ been heard. Unhappy man that I am ! I thought
“ my ears had been impos’d upon by a trifling quarrel
“ between the lover and his Catamite ; and I distrust-
“ ed the truth of the information, because he did not
“ give it in himself, but sent it by his brother. Be-
“ sides, I could not tell but he might disown having
“ sent Cebalinus on any such account, and then I
“ should have been suspected to have contriv’d it
“ on purpose to bring several of the king’s friends
“ into trouble. Thus altho’ I have offended no
“ body, I have found enemies that wish my ruin,
“ rather than my safety. How much ill-will should
“ I have procur’d my self, had I provok’d so many
“ innocent persons ? Oh ! but Dymnus kill’d him-
“ self ; it is true ; however, I could not divine that
“ he would do so. From hence ’tis plain, that the
“ only thing that gives credit to the information,
“ was what I could not any ways be mov’d with them,
“ when

“ when Cebalinus communicated the plot to me.
“ Again, had I been concern'd with Dymnus in the
“ abominable treason, I ought not to have dissembled
“ the matter for two days, when I knew we were
“ betray'd. It had been the easiest thing in the
“ world to have dispatch'd Cebalinus out of the way.
“ Besides, after the discovery of the plot, which was
“ to cost me my life, I enter'd into the king's cham-
“ ber alone, and with my sword by my side, what
“ then could be my motive, not to put it in execu-
“ tion ? Did not I dare to go about it without Dym-
“ nus ? At this rate, he must be the chief conspirator,
“ and Philotas, who aspir'd to the kingdom of Ma-
“ cedonia, was only a lurking accessory to him.
“ Now pray tell me your selves, which of you have
“ I endeavour'd to bribe over to my interest ? what
“ leader or commander have I courted in any distin-
“ guishing manner ? it has been objected to me,
“ that I despise my native language, and the manners
“ of the Macedonians. This contempt would be an
“ extraordinary method indeed of obtaining the
“ crown, that I am said to have aspired to : you
“ are all sensible, that our own language is almost
“ out of use, by the long conversation we have
“ had with foreigners, and the conquerors, as well
“ as the vanquish'd, have been oblig'd to learn a new
“ tongue. These charges do not affect me any more,
“ than the treasonable practices of Amintas, the son
“ of Perdiccas, against the king, with whom I do
“ not disown to have had a friendship ; but I cannot
“ think my self guilty on that account, unless it be
“ a crime for us to love the king's brother : but
“ if, on the contrary, we were oblig'd to respect a
“ man in that high station, pray tell me, am I a cri-
“ minal only because I had not the gift of divination ?
“ must the innocent friends of the guilty be in-
“volv'd

“volv’d in their ruin? If that be reasonable, why
“have I liv’d so long? If it be unreasonable, why
“must I now at last suffer for it? Oh! but I writ in
“my letter, that I pity’d those who were to live
“under him, who believ’d himself Jupiter’s son.
“Oh, the fidelity of friendship! Oh, the dangerous
“freedom of sincere council! It was you that de-
“ceived me, it was you that pushed me on, not to
“disguise my real sentiments. I do not deny that I
“writ thus to the king, but I did not write so to any
“body else of the king; I therefore did not seek to
“create him ill-will, but, on the contrary, I had a
“tender care for him. I thought it was more worthy
“Alexander to be satisfy’d within himself of his di-
“vine extraction, than to boast of it publickly: And
“because the oracle is infallible, I’ll willing rely on
“the testimony of the God. Let me be a prisoner
“till Hammon is consulted about the secret and my-
“sterious crime. Mean while, he that has acknow-
“ledg’d our king for his son, will not suffer any that
“have conspir’d against his own offspring to remain
“undetected; but if you look upon torments to be
“more certain in this case than the oracle, I do not
“even refuse that testimony of my innocency. It is
“usual for those who are accus’d of capital crimes,
“to exhibit their parents or next relations to move
“your pity, but I have lost my two brothers
“lately, and I cannot at this distance produce my
“father, neither I dare name him, since he is equally
“accus’d with me; for it seems it is not enough for
“him to be depriv’d of so many children as he had,
“and to have but one left to comfort him in his old
“age, unless that be also taken from him, and he
“himself perish with him in the same pile. Must you
“then, my dear father, die for me, and with me?
“I am the unhappy wretch that take away your life,
“and put a period to your old age! Who did you
“beget unhappy me in the displeasure of the Gods?

“ Was it to procure to yourself these disasters which
 “ await you ? I cannot determine whether my youth
 “ be more miserable, or your grey hairs : I am
 “ snatch’d away in the bloom of my years, and the
 “ executioner must put an end to your days, whom
 “ the course of nature would have taken out of the
 “ way, had fortune had but a little patience. The
 “ mention I make of my father, puts me in mind
 “ how cautious I ought to have been in communi-
 “ cating Cebalinus’s information ; for Parmenio be-
 “ ing advis’d, that Philip was brib’d to poison the
 “ king, writ a letter on purpose to dissuade him from
 “ taking the medicine he prepar’d for him ; was there
 “ any credit given to my father in this case ? Had
 “ his letters any authority with the king ? Nay, how
 “ many times have I myself been ridicul’d for my
 “ credulity, when I have imparted what I heard ?
 “ Now, if we must be laughed to scorn when we in-
 “ form, and suspected when we conceal, because we
 “ don’t give credit to the discovery, what must we
 “ do ?” Here one of the standers-by cry’d out by the
 way of answer, “ Not plot against those who have
 “ deserv’d well of us.” To which Philotas reply’d,
 “ Thou sayest well, whoever thou art. If it there-
 “ fore appears that I have conspir’d, I don’t refuse to
 “ suffer, and so shall conclude my defence, since I
 “ find my last words disagreeable to you.” This said,
 they who had him in custody took him away.



C H A P. XI.

TH E R E was amongst the captains one named
 Belon, a very brave but unpolish’d man ; he had
 been a long time in arms, and from a private centinel,
 had rais’d himself to the post he was then in. This
 brutishly

brutishly audacious officer perceiving the assembly stood mute, represented to it, “ That they had frequently been thrust out of their quarters to make room for the very scum of Philotas’s slaves ; that the streets were full of his waggons laden with gold and silver, and that he would not so much as suffer any of his fellow-soldiers to be lodg’d near his quarters, but posted his sleep-guards to keep them at a great distance for fear that tender lady should be disturbed in her repose by the sound, or rather silence of men whispering to one another. That they had been always the subject of his ridicule, and were sometimes called by him Phrygians, sometimes Paphlagonians ; and that he was so haughty, as to hear his own country-men by an interpreter. What can be his reason to have Hammon consulted, he that did not scruple to tax the oracle with lying, when it acknowledg’d Alexander for Jupiter’s son ; he had great reason to be sure to fear the king should contract the displeasure of the gods by what they themselves bestow’d upon him. He did not consult the oracle, when he conspir’d against the life of his sovereign and friend, but he would now have it consulted, that in the mean time his father, who commands in Media, might be solicited, and with the money he has in his custody procure other desperadoes to associate themselves with him in his villany. That it was their business to send to the oracle, not to be inform’d of what the king had told them himself, but to give thanks to the gods, and offer up their vows for their sovereign’s preservation.”

This incens’d the whole assembly, and the guards cry’d out, that it belong’d to them to take satisfaction of the paricide, and that they ought to tear him in pieces, Philotas, who was afraid of greater torments, was well enough pleas’d with this saying. The king

returning now to the assembly, adjourn'd the council to the next day, either that Philotas might be tormented in prison, or that he might in the mean time get better information of the conspiracy ; and notwithstanding the night drew on, he summon'd his friends to come to him ; the rest of them were for having Philotas ston'd to death, according to the Macedonian custom, but Hephæstion, Craterus and Cœnus were of opinion, “ That the truth ought to be forc'd from
“ him by tortures ;” and then those who had been of another sentiment came over to their advice. The council being therefore dismiss'd, Hephæstion, Craterus and Cœnus got up in order to have Philotas tortured, and the king calling Craterus, had some private discourse with him, the substance whereof was never known, and then retir'd into his closet, and there remain'd alone a considerable part of the night, expecting the event of the tortures. The executioners brought now before Philotas all the instruments of cruelty, and he of his own accord ask'd them, “ Why
“ they delay'd killing the king's enemy and murderer, who confess'd the fact ? what occasion is
“ there for torments ? I own I contriv'd the mischief,
“ and would have executed it.” Then Craterus requir'd he should make the same confession upon the rack. While they laid hold of him, and were stripping him and binding up his eyes, he to no purpose call'd upon the gods of the country, and the laws of nations. They made him pass thro' the severest torments, as if he had been actually condemn'd, and out of their zeal for the king's safety, most miserably tore his body. And notwithstanding they made use of both of fire and scourges, rather by the way of punishment than examination, he was so far from crying out, that he did not so much as yield a groan ; but when his body swell'd
with

with ulcers, and the scourges cut to the bones, not being any longer able to contain himself, he promis'd them "if they would leave off tormenting, he would discover to them what they desir'd to know:" But he requir'd they should swear by the king's safety, that they would torture him no more, and that the executioners should be sent away; both which being granted him, he ask'd Craterus, "What he would have him tell him?" Craterus was very much incens'd hereat, thinking he mock'd him, and call'd back the executioners. "Then Philotas desir'd a little time to recover his spirits, and promis'd to tell them all that he knew." In the mean time the chief officers of the cavalry, and they who were nearly related to Parmenio (hearing that Philotas was put upon the rack, and dreading the Macedonian laws, which ordain, that the nearest relations of those that conspire against the king, shall die with them) some kill'd themselves, and others fled to the mountains and deserts; the whole camp was in a consternation, which the king being inform'd of, he caus'd proclamation to be made, "That he remitted the law relating to the kindred of traytors." Philotas in the mean time made the following confession, that he might not be any more tormented; but whether what he said was true or false is hard to determine; because on such occasions those who speak the truth and those who assert falsehoods are to expect the same fate.

"You are not ignorant, said he, how familiar my father was with Hegelochus, I mean that Hegelochus that was kill'd in battle; he was the cause of all our misfortunes; for when the king order'd himself to be saluted Jupiter's son, this man took it so heinously, that he said, Shall we acknowledge him for king, who is asham'd to own Philip for his father? We are undone if we suffer this, for he not only despises men but the gods themselves, who

“ who desires to be thought a god. We have lost
“ Alexander, we have lost our king ; he is fallen into
“ that insufferable pride, that makes him odious,
“ both to the gods, to whom he equals himself, and
“ to mankind that he despises. Have we spilt our
“ blood to make him a god, who now disdains us ?
“ Who scorns to be present at a council of mortals ?
“ Believe me, if we will but shew ourselves men,
“ we may be also adopted by the gods. Who re-
“ veng’d the death of Alexander, great grandfather
“ of our Alexander, or that of Archelaus, or Perdic-
“ cas ? Nay, has not he himself pardon’d the mur-
“ derers of his own father ? This is what Hegelo-
“ chus said at supper, and the next day, early in the
“ morning, my father sent for me ; he was melan-
“ choly, and saw that I was also sad, for what we
“ had heard made us very uneasy ; that therefore we
“ might know whether what he said was the effect of
“ wine or premeditation, we sent for him, and being
“ come, he of his own motion repeated what he had
“ said before, and added, that if we dar’d to be
“ leaders in the enterprize, he claim’d the next place
“ to us ; if we did not approve of it, he would faith-
“ fully keep our counsel. Parmenio did not think
“ it proper to cut him off while Darius was alive,
“ since the enemy would reap the advantage of Alex-
“ ander’s death, and not we ; but Darius being dead,
“ Asia and all the east would fall as a reward to those
“ that should kill the king. The advice was ap-
“ prov’d, and faith mutually promis’d between the
“ parties. As for what relates to Dymnus, I know
“ nothing of it ; and after this confession, what will
“ it avail me that I am altogether innocent of this
“ last plot ?” Then they tormented him afresh, and
struck him themselves in the face and eyes with their
darts, and at last extorted from him a confession of
this crime likewise. As they requir’d him to give an
orderly

orderly account of the whole contrivance : He answer'd, " That as it seem'd probable that the king
" would remain a considerable time in Bactria, he
" was afraid his father, who was seventy years of
" age, and at the head of a great army, and had the
" custody of a vast treasure, might die in the mean
" time, and then being deprived of such supports, it
" would be to no purpose for him to kill the king ;
" he therefore design'd to hasten the execution while
" the reward of it was still in his own hands." This
he said was the whole history of the matter, " and if
" they did not believe his father to be the author of
" it, he was ready to undergo the tortures again,
" tho' he was too weak to bear them." Hereupon
they conferr'd together, and having concluded they
had made sufficient enquiry, they return'd to the
king.

The next day the king order'd his confession to be
read to the assembly, and because Philotas was not
able to go, he caus'd him to be brought before it :
Here he again own'd it all to be true. They pro-
ceeded next to the examination of Demetrius, who
was accus'd to be one of the confederates in this last
conspiracy ; but he made great protestations, and
with an undaunted mind and countenance deny'd,
" that he had ever intended any thing against the
" king, and for his greater justification he desir'd to
" be tortur'd." Then Philotas casting his eyes about,
spy'd a certain person nam'd Calis, not far from him,
" and bid him come nearer." But Calis in the ut-
most confusion refus'd to do it ; so that Philotas said
to him, " Will you suffer Demetrius to lie, and
" cause me to be tortur'd again ? " At these words
Calis became speechless, and turn'd as pale as if he
had no blood left in his body. The Macedonians
now began to suspect Philotas maliciously accus'd
those that were innocent ; because neither Nichoma-
chus,

chus, nor Philotas himself in his tortures, had nam'd the youth. However, when he found himself furrounded by the king's officers, he confess'd that both he and Demetrius were guilty. Hereupon all those who were nam'd by Nicomachus, were according to the Macedonian laws (upon a signal given) ston'd to death.

It is certain the king here run a great risk, both as to his safety and his life; for Parmenio and Philotas were so powerful and so well belov'd, that unless it appear'd plain they were guilty, they could never have been condemn'd, without the indignation of the whole army. For while Philotas deny'd the fact, he was look'd upon to be very cruelly handled; but after his confession, there was not any even of his friends that pity'd him.

The End of the First Volume.

